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CONTENTS

Editor's Notebook

Liberty

In the summer and early autumn of 1775, George Washington's undertrained but hopeful army gazed down from the heights around Boston harbor, wondering if they could hold on to their temporary success. Memories of Lexington, Concord, and Breed's Hill were fresh. Americans everywhere wondered at the fate of prisoners held in Boston's gaols and aboard prison ships, and the "patriots" among them shuddered at rumors that Britain intended to send foreign mercenaries—Hessians—to put down the burgeoning "revolution" in the North Atlantic colonies. Everyone with a European memory knew what that meant.

But they were far from cowed at the prospect. In Maryland, specifically Annapolis, where the royal governor resided, patriots had formed into the Sons of Liberty, the Council of Safety, the Committee of Observation. The year before some of them had mobbed a British sea captain; others had forced the burning of the *Peggy Stewart* and its cargo of tea. With eyes and ears firmly on events in Boston and London, they insisted that Annapolis unite against British oppression.

On Wednesday, September 27, 1775, they awakened Loyalist William Eddis. "This morning early we were alarmed by the beating of drums, and a proclamation for the inhabitants to assemble at the Liberty Tree. The purport of this meeting was to obtain a resolve, 'that all persons who had refused to sign the association, and comply with the other requisitions, should be obliged to quit the city, as enemies to the essential interests of America.'" Cooler heads in the crowd called for moderation, and outvoted those whom Eddis termed "the lowest of the people.... this violent project was defeated with little difficulty: every judicious and reasonable person seeing through the pernicious tendency of such a design."

The meeting under the Liberty Tree also threw a scare into Robert Eden, the governor whose eye was normally on the ladies. On October 1, 1775, as tempers flared and just to the north Philadelphians contemplated a "Tar & Feathering Committee" for royal governors, Eden wrote the Earl of Dartmouth to "do the Gentlemen of [Annapolis], & the Citizens, the Justice to say that, on my speaking to many of them, and desiring their Attendance, they made a Point of being present at the meeting under *Liberty Tree*, and with Spirit, Resolution and threats of Force, totally overset a mad-headed Scheme, set on foot by only eight or nine very worthless idle Fellows, and I hope have put an End to any future internal Attempts of a similar Nature in this City."

The crisis had passed . . . for the moment. But Eddis was hardly fooled. He could feel the hot breath of revolution at his neck. "I am, however, clearly of opinion, that all power will quickly be transferred into the hands of the multitude, who once taking the lead, will not easily be reduced again to proper submission."

Events took their course and a certain justice manifested itself in the wake of that revolution: Annipolitans remembered the Liberty Tree and largely forgot Robert Eden and William Eddis. For years it stood in all its majesty on the campus of St. John's College, and as the college has stood against trend and fashion the tree stood against time. It was always there, a visible reminder of things past. We cannot prove that the magnificent four-hundred-year-old tulip poplar that withstood lightning, rot, and revolution was *the* Liberty Tree, *under which* the Sons of Liberty gathered, although fifty years later Lafayette returned to that spot to honor their memory. In the end it does not matter. Under that particular tree, Native Americans paused, colonials discussed the news, patriots gathered, students pondered, Massachusetts boys in blue slept, and the better part of four centuries of Maryland history whispered past. Some of the men who fought so gallantly on Long Island knew that tree, and so did some of those who died on Omaha Beach. It was doubtless the scene of numerous rendezvous, a point of reference, a monument.

Annapolis has lost a good friend in that old tree. So have we all.

R.I.C.

Cover

The Liberty Tree

The Liberty Tree, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland. Photograph by Marion E. Warren, courtesy St. John's College Library.

Corrigenda

In James E. McWilliams's review of Anya Jabour's, *The Companionate Marriage* (summer 1999), the magazine published "518 adults" as the number of urban slaves kept by the Wirts. The draft sent to us by Mr. McWilliams read "5–8 adults." The change, which resulted from electronic scanning, was one our editors did not catch. We regret the error.

Detail from Emanuel Bowen, A New and Accurate Map of Virginia & Maryland, 1747. *(Maryland Historical Society.)*

Women and the Catholic Church in Maryland, 1689–1776

BEATRIZ BETANCOURT HARDY

From the mid-1500s to the late 1700s, Catholics in England endured a dark period when the law proscribed their church, government agents hunted for priests, and the courts harassed lay Catholics. During this trying period, women helped to ensure the existence of Catholicism. Even as their husbands conformed to the Anglican Church for economic or political reasons, Catholic women remained true to their faith and raised their children in the church. Partly as a result of their important role and partly as a result of Catholic veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Catholic women enjoyed a higher status than their Anglican counterparts.[1]

Colonial Maryland Catholics have not received nearly as much attention as English Catholics, but what has been written about them has largely centered on white men.[2] Women's experiences were in some ways quite different from men's: the laws which excluded Catholic men from the political arena and which proscribed public worship actually provided women with an elevated position within the Catholic community. But gender and religion were not the only factors that affected a woman's life; race and class were extremely important. One way of exploring the experiences of Catholic women during Maryland's penal era is to look at the lives of specific women. I propose in this paper to explore the lives of Jane Mathews Doyne, a gentlewoman, and Jenny, an enslaved woman.

When Jane Doyne's father came to Maryland in 1637, it was an unstable, crude frontier society, yet for Catholics, it was the promised land, a place where they could practice their faith openly. Despite making up no more than about 10 percent of the population of seventeenth-century Maryland, Catholics formed a tightly-knit community, transacting business together and taking care of widows and orphans. Their church flourished, for Maryland had no religious establishment and allowed Catholics to worship freely. Men dominated the church. Among lay Catholics, as among the general population, men far outnumbered women, and only male religious orders sent members to this raw frontier. The Franciscans and others provided a few missionary priests, but the Jesuits supplied the bulk of the clergy. The Catholicism of the proprietary family and of most of the leading government officials ensured the church a place of special prominence, with priests giving sermons on public occasions.[3]

Dr. Hardy is the author of "Roman Catholics, Not Papists: Catholic Identity in Maryland, 1689–1776," which appeared in volume 92, number 2 (summer 1997).

Jane's family enjoyed a privileged position within the colony. Her father, Thomas Mathews, had migrated as a free man with four servants. In addition to planting tobacco on the two thousand acres of land he owned, he practiced medicine, acted as an attorney for the Jesuits, served as a justice of the peace and sheriff, and won election to the Lower House. Mathews married twice; his second wife, Jane Cockshutt, was a Catholic who had migrated to Maryland as an infant and probably brought a substantial dowry to the marriage. She gave birth to the daughter who is the focus of this story.[4]

The Mathews family lived near Jesuit churches, first at St. Inigoes and later at Port Tobacco, allowing them to attend Mass regularly and enjoy other sacraments such as baptism and marriage. We do not know who Jane's godparents were, but many friends and relatives lived nearby who could have acted in this capacity; quite often, single men were symbolically incorporated into families as godfathers, and godparents often assumed responsibility for their godchildren since most children lost one or both parents to death.[5] Thomas himself died in 1676 at the age of fifty-three, an old man by the standards of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, yet not old enough to see his youngest children reach maturity. Like most men with young children, he bequeathed the bulk of his estate to his widow, giving her the ability to maintain the children.[6]

The demographic situation—men outnumbered women by as much as three to one in the 1670s—put enormous pressure on widows to re-marry. Thomas's widow did marry, again choosing a Catholic planter, but we know nothing of their lives together or about Jane's relationship with her new stepfather. Given the size of the estate that her father had left, however, it is extremely unlikely that Jane ever had to work in the tobacco fields.

As was typical of native-born girls, Jane seems to have married at an early age—possibly in her teens—to an older man, a widower named Joshua Doyne. Born into an Anglo-Irish family, Joshua had been transported to Maryland around 1670 but had returned to Ireland. He immigrated again in 1680 with his first wife, who soon died, leaving Joshua to raise four or five children on his own. By 1688 the widowed father had married young Jane Mathews.[7]

Around the time Joshua and Jane Doyne married, Catholics in the English empire were enjoying a renaissance. With Catholic King James II on the throne, enforcement of the anti-Catholic laws in England relaxed. In 1688, however, the good times came crashing to a halt. The end began innocently enough, with the birth of a son to King James II in England. As sheriff of St. Mary's County, Joshua Doyne was likely present in October 1688 when the colonial government held its official celebration of the birth. A month later, at the invitation of the Protestant-controlled Parliament, William of Orange landed on the shores of England, overthrowing James II in the Glorious Revolution. Disgruntled Protestants in Maryland seized the opportunity to rebel against the Catholic propri-

etor. Joshua was surely in the thick of things as sheriff. Perhaps he was one of the men who surrendered the State House to the rebels, or perhaps he made his stand with the proprietary forces at the governor's house before they surrendered.[8]

The rebellion was an almost entirely male affair. Jane Doyne and other women, however much anxiety they may have felt, did not participate in political affairs. But Jane and her co-religionists were deeply affected by the rebellion's outcome. The English government eventually took over Maryland's government, and Catholics were ousted from their offices. Joshua lost his post as sheriff, while at least three of Jane's kin forfeited their positions as justices of the peace.[9] Catholics no longer were allowed to serve on juries. More important for women was the change in the Catholic Church's position. In the immediate aftermath of the rebellion, most of the Catholic priests left the province and the churches closed, some for nearly four years. The Church of England became the established church, and everyone, whether Catholic or Protestant, was required to pay taxes to support it. In 1697 the governor banned proselytizing by Catholics. In 1704 the governor permanently closed the Jesuits' great church at St. Mary's City, and the assembly limited Mass to private homes.

Catholics were still able to worship, because most of the Jesuits' chapels were attached to their residences and qualified as private. In addition, wealthy Catholics such as the Doynes had long maintained chapels in their homes, especially in areas where the Jesuits did not own land. Several Doyne relatives, including Jane's brother Ignatius Mathews and her brother-in-law William Boarman, also owned chapels. The ban on public worship made the network of domestic chapels even more important, and their numbers increased.[10] Later, the Doynes' daughters Mary and Jane also owned chapels, as did their grandson Robert Doyne.[11]

The proliferation of domestic chapels probably made it easier for women to practice Catholicism. The Jesuits stressed regular attendance at Mass and urged frequent communion. Despite the priests' urging, however, pregnant women or those with small children—most married women, in other words—may have found it difficult to get themselves and their children to a distant church. If the priest came to say Mass at their home or at a nearby plantation, they surely were much likelier to attend. Another pious practice made easier by domestic chapels was visiting the Blessed Sacrament. Following communion, the celebrant placed the remains of the consecrated host in a goblet-shaped vessel called a ciborium, which was then placed inside an ornamented box or tabernacle and kept in a place of honor in the chapel.[12]

In addition to allowing women to practice their faith more easily, domestic chapels also elevated the position of women whose families owned chapels, imbuing the role of mistress of the house with religious significance. Joan Gundersen has observed that the practice of holding rites of passage—baptisms,

marriages, and funerals—at home gave Anglican women more influence than if the ceremonies had been held at church.[13] How much truer that observation must be for Catholic women who oversaw preparations not only for occasional rites of passage but also for regular services. Although we have no direct evidence, undoubtedly women were responsible for preparing the chapel for Mass, polishing the silver communion vessels, and maintaining the textiles used in the service. Most of the probate records simply refer to "Church Stuff," but the inventory of Jane's son-in-law Thomas Jameson provides additional details. When he died in 1734, he owned three sets of "Church Stuff," but this is clearly a reference to textiles since the sets were described as red, green, and striped. Jameson also owned a tabernacle and bread box, so members of the family or neighbors would have been able to visit the Blessed Sacrament after Mass. Finally, the inventory included bread iron cutters; presumably his wife was responsible for baking the communion bread.[14]

It is also likely that women were responsible for providing hospitality for the visiting priest and for those attending Mass. The number of participants could be substantial. Boarman's chapel is one of the few domestic chapels whose dimensions are known: it was fairly large, thirty feet long by twenty feet wide, big enough to allow possibly 150 people to attend. We know that attendance at the Doyne chapel also extended beyond the immediate family, for a distant relative left a bequest to it. Bachelor's Hope, the Doyne home, was well-situated to draw a crowd. The Doynes lived near the confluence of the Wicomico and Chaptico rivers in St. Mary's County, just north of the large Catholic population of St. Clement's Manor and just across the Wicomico River from many Catholics in Charles County. Indeed, the Doynes themselves likely attended Mass at the homes of friends or relatives whenever possible.[15]

Most of the people who owned domestic chapels were quite wealthy, and the Doynes were no exception. Joshua Doyne earned income from holding office, keeping a store, and planting tobacco on some of his more than three thousand acres of land. Bachelor's Hope was larger than most Maryland houses of the day, with at least six rooms, a dairy, and a kitchen. The Doynes enjoyed a fairly luxurious standard of living: they ate off pewter plates using silver spoons on tables laid with tablecloths and napkins; they slept on feather beds with sheets warmed by a warming pan, dressed in front of a looking glass, and relieved themselves in chamberpots. Though white servants were becoming harder to find, Jane and the younger Doyne children did not have to work in the fields for Joshua owned at least sixteen slaves.[16]

Jane nevertheless certainly kept busy. Women typically bore children every two to three years. Jane gave birth to at least four children, three sons and one daughter. In addition to childrearing, she was also responsible for supervising the kitchen, the dairy, and the garden as well as producing textiles. Supervising

food preparation was a particularly important task in a Catholic household due to the rigorous fasting requirements the church imposed. On fasting days, Catholics were to eat no meat and have only one meal, while on days of abstinence, they could eat as many meals as they wished but were to avoid meat.[17] As the mistress of the household, it would have been Jane Doyne's duty to ensure that her family—including servants and slaves—followed these requirements and to prepare meals accordingly.

In 1698, Jane Doyne's responsibilities increased dramatically when her husband Joshua died. Like most seventeenth-century husbands, Joshua named his wife as sole executor, although he also appointed three "Esteemed & Trusty Friends" to be overseers to help her. All three of the men were Catholics, a reflection of the closely-knit Catholic community in which the Doynes lived. Joshua granted Jane a life interest in Bachelor's Hope, and he divided his sixteen slaves among nine heirs, breaking up some slave families in the process. In addition, he bequeathed to Jane the "Church Stuff" for her lifetime and asked her to distribute one thousand pounds of tobacco to "poor Catholiques." He also made bequests to two priests, the Jesuit William Hunter and the Franciscan Richard Hubbard, and discharged two other priests from the debts they owed him. The change in government may have left Joshua apprehensive about the future: he insisted that his children be "taught educated & Nurtured" in the Catholic faith "and furnished with all necessarys & conveniences to frequent Goeing to Chappells and Places of Divine Service." Joshua seemed particularly concerned over the faith of his youngest daughter, making her bequest conditional on her staying single or marrying a Catholic.[18]

The task of instructing children and servants in the faith was a major parental responsibility. The Jesuits urged Marylanders to have family prayers and devotions; the duties of a pious family, they preached, included "frequenting ye Sacraments, constant publick prayers & pious Reading especially on Sundays & holydays." Many families owned religious books such as John Gother's *Book of Instructions* or *A Manual of Godly Prayers*, which provided specific prayers and devotions. Since Joshua Doyne owned books at the time of his death, it seems likely that the Doynes used these sorts of manuals for leading devotions and instructing their dependents.[19]

Even if Joshua had lived, much of the burden for the family's religious life likely would have fallen on Jane. Among English Catholics and Chesapeake Anglicans, women assumed responsibility for the spiritual education of their children and dependents, and we have no reason to think it was otherwise for Maryland Catholics.[20] Indeed, in 1694 a married Catholic woman who had custody of an orphan was accused of instructing him in the Catholic faith; the court ordered her Protestant husband to take over the boy's religious education.[21] The assembly also credited mothers with having particular influence over their

children's religious education. In 1715 it passed a law allowing the government to remove the children of deceased Protestant fathers from the custody of their mother, if she was a Catholic or married a Catholic.[22]

That Jane Doyne instructed her children well is evident. All of them remained true to the Church, marrying other Catholics and raising their children in the faith. The Doyne chapel continued to serve as a center for the local Catholic community. The present-day house at Bachelor's Hope dates from the early eighteenth century, when Jane owned the property. One unusual feature of the building is that the second floor, consisting of a large room over the central portion of the first floor, can be reached only by an exterior staircase; perhaps this room served as the chapel, since the easy access from outside made it ideal for that purpose. In any case, as the owner of a chapel, Jane apparently enjoyed a good reputation: two other Catholics in their wills asked her to take in their daughters. The records suggest that she may have run a small school for Catholic girls at Bachelor's Hope.[23]

Jane Doyne, unlike her mother and grandmother, did not choose to re-marry after the death of her husband. As a wealthy widow with an extensive kin network, Jane could afford to remain single.[24] Nonetheless, the years immediately after Joshua's death were surely challenging. Joshua's estate was complex to administer, given its size and the variety of economic activities it encompassed. In addition, the majority of the children were not yet of age, and Jane had to run the estate in such a way as to assure that each child received his or her inheritance at the appropriate time. She could turn for assistance to the overseers whom Joshua had appointed or to adult male kin. Joshua, despite his confidence in her managerial skill, had clearly worried that his older sons would not respect their stepmother and made their bequests partially conditional on "their Good Behaviour towards" her.[25]

After all her children had grown, Jane Doyne apparently continued to live on her own. Many of her children and grandchildren lived nearby, but the majority of her daily interactions must have been with the enslaved African Americans at Bachelor's Hope. No records survive to indicate if she took instructing her slaves in religion as seriously as she had her children, although they almost certainly would have been baptized in the Catholic Church. Nine of the ten slaves Jane Doyne owned at the time of her death shared names with her relatives, including the highly uncommon name Victoria.[26] This suggests that the whites may have played a role in naming them; certainly the Catholic priests would have insisted on appropriately Christian names at baptism, but that goal could have been accomplished without choosing Doyne family names. It is possible that some of the Doynes were godparents to the slaves who shared their names. Despite the shared names, there is no evidence that Jane Doyne felt any strong personal ties to them. Unlike some planters, she did not free any of them

or allow them to choose their new masters after her death. Instead, as her husband and many other small slave owners had done, when Jane died in 1738 she distributed her ten slaves among various heirs, possibly breaking up some families in the process.[27]

Jane Doyne survived her husband by forty years and outlived four of her nine children and stepchildren, leaving behind twenty-five grandchildren and even some great-grandchildren at the time of her death. The lives of Jane's children demonstrate some of the changes occurring in Maryland. The colony was no longer a land of opportunity: none of Joshua Doyne's seven sons owned as much land as he did, and only one had a larger personal estate.[28] Jane Doyne and her children lived through some hard times for Catholics, especially before 1720, but the next generation would enjoy much greater opportunities. In fact, two of Jane's grandsons attended Catholic schools in Europe, an opportunity open only to the very wealthiest families earlier in the century; both of these boys became Jesuits. One of Jane's granddaughters also attended Catholic school in Europe, becoming a Carmelite nun. As was true in colonial Protestant churches, women came to outnumber men in the Catholic Church in Maryland. Catholics enjoyed access to new outlets for piety, such as the sodalities founded by the Jesuits in the late colonial period; women made up more than 80 percent of the members. Thirteen of Jane's descendants—including four males—participated in the Perpetual Adorers of the Blessed Sacrament, a sodality at Port Tobacco whose members took turns praying and honoring the Blessed Sacrament from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. daily.[29] The commitment to Catholicism of these later generations is a tribute to the solid foundation of piety which Jane Doyne had established for her family.

A Slave's Life

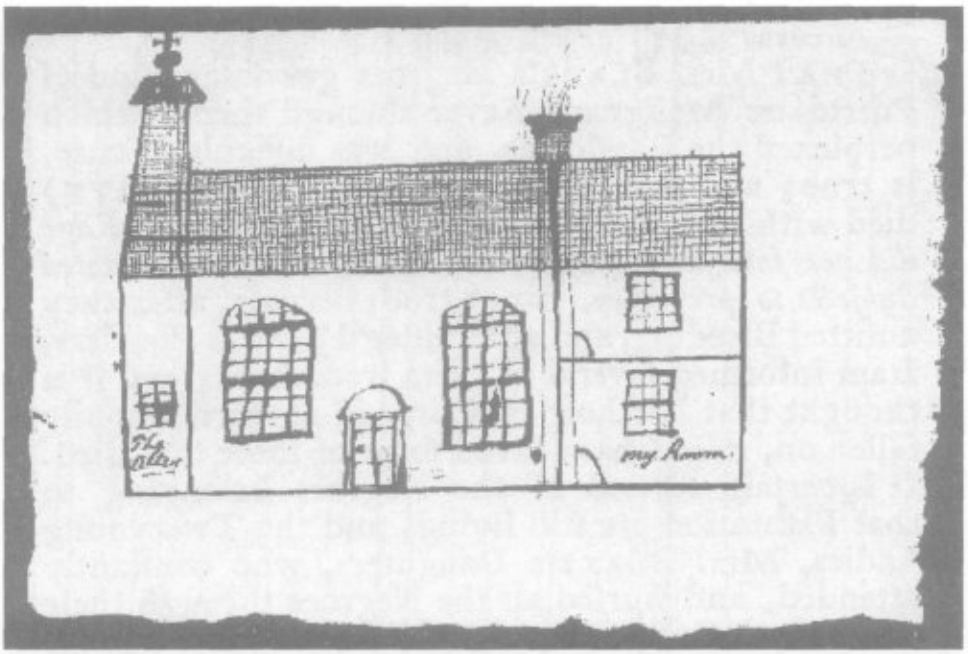
The circumstances of Jane Doyne's life were quite different from those of the second woman who is the subject of this paper. Jenny was born in January 1752 at Blakeford, a plantation belonging to Philemon Blake in Queen Anne's County on Maryland's Eastern Shore.[30] Her mother may have been Frances, who was described in 1761 as "often ailing" and who was thirty-three at the time of Jenny's birth. Her father may have been Matthew, a slave on another Blake plantation. Blake owned more than two thousand acres and fifty-nine slaves, while other Blakes living nearby were equally wealthy.[31] Parish records suggest that there was much visiting and intermingling among the enslaved populations of the various Blake properties. Jenny, then, was probably raised within a relatively large kin network.

The Blakes were devout Catholics, maintaining chapels at each of their homes. At the time of Jenny's birth, the Jesuits did not own any property in this

St. Joseph Mission, Tuckahoe, Talbot County, where Reverend Joseph Mosley performed the sacraments for slave women as well as white women and their families in the eighteenth century. (Reverend Joseph Mosley, S.J. Papers, Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library.)

area of the Eastern Shore, so the only way Catholics could worship was to provide their own chapels. An itinerant Jesuit visited every four to eight weeks, and these visits became great occasions when work was suspended and rites of passage celebrated. It is clear that the Blakes and other Catholic slaveowners in Queen Anne's County felt a deep concern for the slaves' spiritual welfare. How they displayed this concern is less clear. We do not know how regularly they instructed the slaves in religion, or if they offered any incentives to encourage the bondspeople to join the church. Neither do we know if they required slaves to participate in Mass, or if they left that decision to each individual. Some of the enslaved Catholics appear to have been quite devout and willingly participated in the rituals of the church. For slaves to choose to serve as godparents or to marry in the church suggests a certain degree of religiosity. The Jesuit records from the late colonial period indicate that the Eastern Shore Church was, in fact, made up largely of slaves. The number of baptisms and marriages of slaves far exceeds the number for whites. Whether slave women outnumbered slave men in the Catholic Church as they did in Protestant churches is difficult to determine.[32]

The opportunity to have formal rites of passage may have appealed to enslaved African Americans.[33] Baptism drew people into formal relationships, as godparents agreed to take responsibility for their godchildren's spiritual instruc-

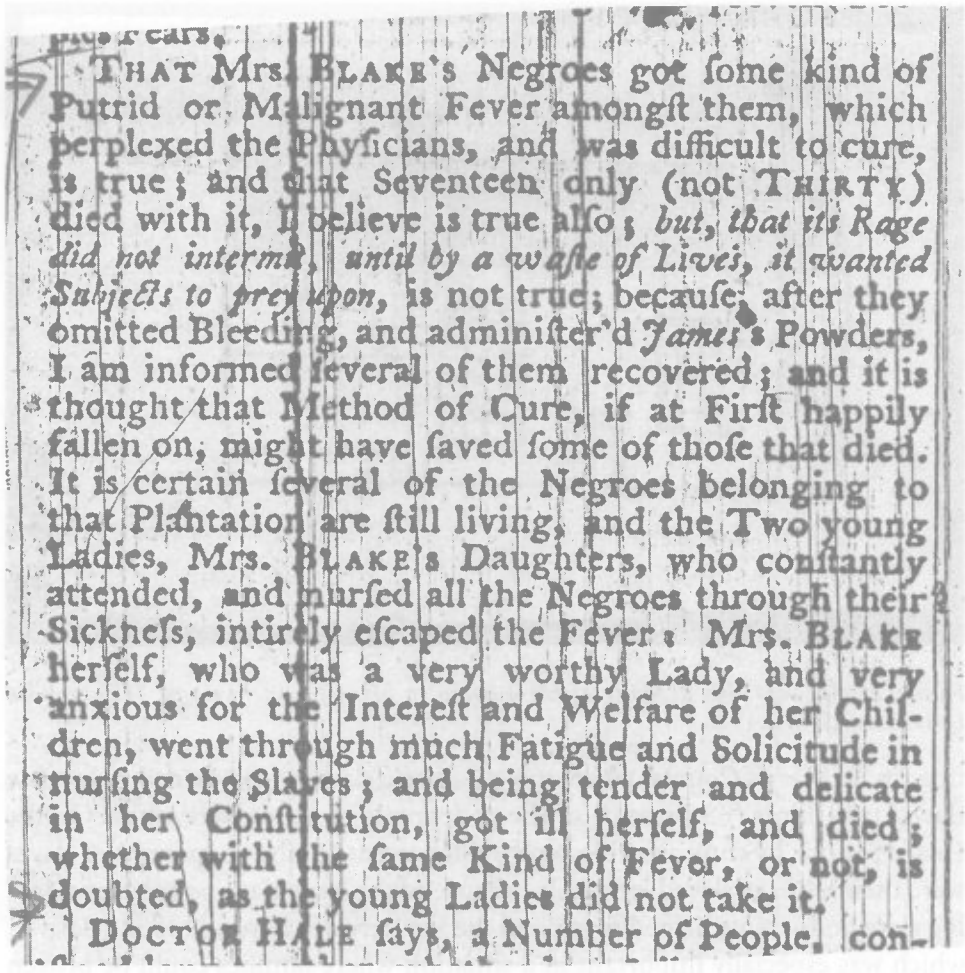


Father Mosley sent this drawing of his mission to his sister in England. (Georgetown University Library.)

tion. In St. Mary's County, where most Catholic slaveowners owned only a few slaves, two-thirds (68 percent) of the godparents of slaves were white. On the Eastern Shore, by contrast, nine-tenths (90 percent) of the godparents of slaves were themselves enslaved, probably because of the large slave population. Having slave godparents helped to expand the kin network beyond blood relatives, which was especially important in a situation where families could be broken apart for reasons beyond their control.[34]

Given what we know about the late colonial period, it seems likely that Jenny was baptized during one of the visits made by the priest in 1752 and that her godparents were probably enslaved. Jenny was raised on the main plantation, not a distant quarter, and she probably had no work obligations during the first few years of her life. Like most enslaved women, Jenny's mother probably was a field hand, helping to raise wheat, corn, and tobacco. Typically, an older slave woman looked after the young children. On Blakeford, Beck—who was about fifty-three at the time Jenny was born—may have been responsible for childcare.[35]

When Jenny was nine, about the time she probably started working in the fields, Philemon Blake died. The death of an owner often had tragic consequences for his slaves, wrecking their families as bondsmen were distributed among various heirs, as happened to the Doyne slaves. Catholic slaves confronted the additional peril that their new owners might not be Catholic; some Protestants were not willing to



THAT Mrs. BLAKE's Negroes got ſome kind of Putrid or Malignant Fever amongſt them, which perplexed the Phyſicians, and was difficult to cure, is true; and that Seventeen only (not THIRTY) died with it, I believe is true alſo; *but, that its Rage did not intermit, until by a waſte of Lives, it wanted Subjects to prey upon*, is not true; becauſe, after they omitted Bleeding, and adminiſter'd *James*'s Powders, I am informed ſeveral of them recovered; and it is thought that Method of Cure, if at Firſt happily fallen on, might have ſaved ſome of thoſe that died. It is certain ſeveral of the Negroes belonging to that Plantation are ſtill living, and the Two young Ladies, Mrs. BLAKE's Daughters, who conſtantly attended, and nurſed all the Negroes through their Sickneſs, intirely eſcaped the Fever: Mrs. BLAKE herſelf, who was a very worthy Lady, and very anxious for the Intereſt and Welfare of her Children, went through much Fatigue and Solicitude in nurſing the Slaves; and being tender and delicate in her Conſtitution, got ill herſelf, and died; whether with the ſame Kind of Fever, or not, is doubted, as the young Ladies did not take it.

DOCTOR HALE ſays, a Number of People, con-

The Maryland Gazette *carried an account of the Blake family tragedy on July 30, 1767. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

allow their slaves to practice Catholicism.[36] Blake divided his estate among his four children and his wife. Jenny became the property of the widow, Sarah Blake, and remained at Blakeford. We do not know what happened to her immediate family. Blake's older son, Philemon Jr., established his own home and quarters apart from the rest of his family. While he moved of his own volition, the slaves he inherited had no choice but to leave behind friends and families. Fortunately, at least, his plantation was nearby, so it was possible for the enslaved Africans to visit each other.[37]

In 1765, four years after Philemon Blake's death, an English-born Jesuit named Joseph Mosley established the mission of St. Joseph's at Tuckahoe. The mission, situated on the relatively flat lands near the Wye River along the border

between Queen Anne's and Talbot counties, included a chapel and a farm. Mosley brought with him eight slaves from the Jesuits' plantation at White Marsh in Prince George's County. The priest served the mission with dedication, and, thanks to his good work, Catholics in the area probably were able to go to Mass more often.

The missionary's relationship with his enslaved parishioners was complex. Mosley did not think highly of slaves, describing them as "naturally inclined to thieving, lying and much lechery" and "a stubborn, dull set of Mortalls that do Nothing but by driving." But he clearly served the enslaved Catholics with zeal. Not only did he perform more slave baptisms and marriages than white, but he also made sure that they were properly catechized. He reported with pride to his sister that the slaves who "belong to ye Gentlemen of our Persuasion; & our own, are all [Christ]ians and instructed in every [Christ]ian duty with care."[38]

Two years after Mosley's arrival, a deadly fever swept through the Blake plantations. Although the Blakes sent for doctors and the Blake women "constantly attended, and nursed" the slaves, they could not prevent a massive loss of life. On March 5, 1767, Mosley buried Vincent and other children at Mrs. Blake's, followed the next day by five children at Charles Blake's plantation. The epidemic continued throughout the summer, and work must have come to a halt as those who escaped illness tended the sick and dying. In all, between twenty-three and thirty-six Blake slaves died, perhaps more. The experience of such tremendous loss of life must have affected the survivors, including Jenny, for the rest of their lives. The death of Sarah Blake in June added to the trauma, for once again the survivors faced dislocation. Jenny became the property of Sarah's younger son, Charles Blake.[39]

Jenny by now was in her late teens, and it was time to consider a marriage partner. The kin connections between the Blake slaves were close enough that at least two couples required dispensations to marry. The lack of suitable partners led almost one-third to marry slaves from other plantations. Jenny's attentions turned to a young man named Jerry, who had come to Tuckahoe from the Jesuit plantation at White Marsh in 1767. Jerry was twenty-two and Jenny eighteen when they were married in November 1770. Their wedding took place on a Monday at St. Joseph's Chapel at Tuckahoe, with Father Mosley officiating. Mosley and the Blakes gave their slaves time off to attend the wedding, so the couple married in the presence of many of their friends and relatives.[40]

The young couple was unusually fortunate in that Mosley bought Jenny, so she was able to join her husband. Only eight other slaves lived at the two-hundred-acre farm. The oldest, Nanny, had been born in Guinea around 1710 and had come to Tuckahoe in 1765 from White Marsh. At age thirty-three, Tom was the oldest male. He and his first wife Frank had also been among those coming from White Marsh to Tuckahoe in 1765, along with their five children, all under

age twelve. A sixth child had been born to them in 1765, but the next year Frank had died. Tom remained a widower until early 1770, when he married Nell Told, a Blake slave whom Mosley apparently bought.[41]

Jerry and Jenny were of necessity quite intimate with Tom and Nell, for all the slaves apparently lived in the same building. When Mosley had first moved to Tuckahoe in 1765, he told his sister that "there were three buildings, a miserable dwelling-house, a much worse for some negroes, and a house to cure tobacco in. My dwelling-house was nothing but a few boards riven from oak trees, not sawed plank . . . no plastering, and no chimney, but a little hole in the roof to let out the smoke." He had immediately gotten the slaves to plaster his house and build a brick chimney, and surely the slaves carried out some improvements on their house as well. Nevertheless, the slaves' house was quite crowded, a situation which eased a little in 1771 when Mosley sent three of Tom's daughters to live at another Jesuit plantation. However welcome more space might have been, the breakup of the family—two of the girls were only five and seven—surely disturbed all the slaves at Tuckahoe.[42]

Given the lack of adult laborers at the farm, Jenny probably worked in the fields. The slaves raised tobacco and corn and tended livestock. Since Mosley was not an experienced farmer and was often away on missionary trips, Tom must have had a great deal of authority over the work routines. According to his diary, Mosley did join his enslaved workers in the fields at harvest time. Nanny was surely past field work, although she probably did watch the children and performed some household chores. Mosley hired neighboring white women to do his washing and mending. Like many Chesapeake masters, the priest sometimes paid the male slaves for doing extra tasks, such as making rails and mauling logs. He occasionally bought chickens, and once a pig, from the female slaves. Sundays and holy days provided the African Americans an opportunity to tend to their own gardens and animals and to extend their social network beyond Tuckahoe, visiting friends and relatives from other plantations after Mass.[43]

Jerry and Jenny began a family right away, and Jenny was pregnant approximately every two years for the next decade. Their first son, Matthew, was baptized in 1771 but died before reaching his second birthday. His brother Samuel, born in 1773, survived, but his sister Frances died just twelve days after her baptism in 1775. The next year Jenny gave birth to another girl, also named Frances. Thomas, who was born in 1778, was apparently Jenny's child, as was Henrietta, born two years later. There were five more children born at Tuckahoe in the 1780s, including three in 1784. It is hard to identify their parents, but surely at least one of these children was Jerry and Jenny's.[44]

Naming these children provided an opportunity to honor relatives and friends. Matthew and the two girls named Frances may have been named for Jenny's parents, while Samuel may have been named for her brother. Thomas and

Henrietta were named for other slaves at Tuckahoe. It is possible that these slaves were related to Jerry, since they all came originally from the Jesuits' plantation at White Marsh.[45]

The choice of godparents also helped strengthen ties among the slave families at Tuckahoe and slaves on other plantations. Half of the godparents of Jenny's children lived at Tuckahoe. Tom served as godfather to two of the children, while two of his sons and one of his daughters also were godparents to Jenny's children. The Blake plantations provided three additional godparents, and the remainder were slaves belonging to small planters living in the vicinity. Jerry and Jenny together acted as godparents for three slave children belonging to small planters, and Jenny joined Robert, a slave from Blakeford, as godparents to a fourth child.[46]

Mosley certainly expected other slaveowners to instruct their slaves in religion, so he must have participated in guiding the spiritual development of Jerry and Jenny's children. But he would have expected Jerry and Jenny to participate as well.[47] We know nothing about how the families at Tuckahoe practiced their religion. At a minimum, they attended Mass regularly, participated in confession and communion at Easter, and took part in rites of passage. They certainly had the opportunity to visit the reserved sacrament in the chapel, to protect themselves by using holy water and making the sign of the cross, and to use rosary beads to count their prayers. They probably also observed the church's days of abstinence, and it seems likely that Mosley allowed them to refrain from hard labor on the more important holy days, as Church regulations demanded.[48] But they did not join sodalities, they did not attend Catholic schools, and they did not join religious orders. Nor could they read Catholic books, since there is no evidence that Jenny or Jerry or any other Jesuit slave was literate.

Jenny's life surely revolved around her family, her work, and probably her church, but outside forces sometimes impinged on her world. In late 1773, for example, news of the papal suppression of the Society of Jesus sent Mosley into a deep depression, and he contemplated giving up his mission. He clearly cut back on his pastoral work for at least the next year, presumably spending more time at Tuckahoe. How Jenny felt about Mosley's increased presence is not known, of course.[49] The American Revolution caused much turmoil on the Eastern Shore, as civil war developed between the loyalists and the patriots. Mosley tried to avoid taking sides: he initially refused to take an oath of loyalty required of ministers by the Maryland assembly in 1778, which kept him from preaching for a few months, until he took the oath. There is no evidence to indicate that the enslaved population at Tuckahoe took advantage of the disorder to run away nor is there any indication of how the tumultuous war years affected their lives.[50]

By the end of the Revolutionary War, Mosley had embarked on a building program at Tuckahoe, which surely disrupted the lives of Jenny and the other

slaves at the plantation. He and the slaves built a brick chapel with a dwelling house attached; the building was substantial, fifty-two feet long and twenty-four feet wide. The first service in the new chapel, held on Easter Sunday in 1784, attracted an overflow crowd, and between two and three hundred people attended the Masses that Mosley offered there each month. The more frequent Masses probably meant both more work and more opportunities for socializing for the enslaved population at Tuckahoe, while the new house may have meant that one of the slave families was able to move into Mosley's old house.[51]

Unlike the situation when most small slaveowners died, Mosley's death in 1787 apparently did not disturb the routine at Tuckahoe. Another former Jesuit, John Bolton, moved to Talbot County to take his place. At some point, whether before or after Mosley's death, other whites moved to Tuckahoe. The 1790 census listed Bolton as head of a household that included another free white male, two free white females, and eleven slaves. Presumably, the white male was an overseer, while the females were surely his relatives. What effect their presence had on Jenny is difficult to determine, but it did mean housing was in short supply once again.[52]

Jenny was more fortunate than many enslaved women. She and Jerry were able to spend their entire married lives together. It is not clear if all of their children remained with them. Mosley had sent some of Tom's children to larger Jesuit plantations, and perhaps he did so with Jerry and Jenny's as well. There was only one more slave living at Tuckahoe in 1790 than had lived there when Jerry and Jenny had gotten married twenty years earlier. But Jerry was not among them, having died in 1788 at age forty. He was buried at the Blakes' plantation at Wye, near Tuckahoe. Perhaps that was where he died, since he normally would have been buried in the graveyard at St. Joseph's, as their two children had been. Jenny lived long enough to attend Samuel and Henrietta's weddings in 1799. Both of them married slaves from other plantations. That same year, Henrietta's son Jerry was baptized in the Catholic Church. Jenny's death is not recorded in the church records.[53]

Jenny is unusual in that we know more about the details of her life than we do about most Catholic slaves in colonial Maryland. But her life was typical for Catholic slave women on the Eastern Shore. Most belonged to whites who encouraged their slaves to practice Catholicism, and most lived on plantations with ten or more slaves. Jane Doyne, meanwhile, is also representative of the landowning white women of the Western Shore. She lived longer and enjoyed a more luxurious lifestyle than many of her neighbors, but she was not from the very upper crust of the gentry.

The lives of these two women demonstrate some of the experiences of Catholic women in colonial Maryland. They played a crucial role in the survival of Catholicism, supervising their households in the observance of Sundays and holy

days, participating in rites of passage, and transmitting the faith to the next generation. Race and class affected their experiences profoundly. While her husband lived, Jane Doyne was legally subordinate to him, but as a wealthy widow, she was able to govern her own religious life. It was her choice to continue to sponsor a chapel, to instruct others in Catholicism, to pray, to read religious books. It was true that the government did place some constraints on Catholic worship, but those restraints did not limit and in some ways enhanced her experience of Catholicism. Her children and grandchildren had even greater opportunities to seek Catholic educations, to pursue religious vocations, and to join sodalities. Jenny's experiences as a Catholic, by contrast, were limited by her status as a slave. She was able to attend Mass regularly, marry in the Church, and have her children baptized. But that was to some extent a result not of her own choices but because of who her owners were: the devout Blakes, followed by the Jesuit Mosley. She had no opportunity to seek education for herself or her children. She could not pursue a religious vocation, and even joining a sodality was apparently not a possibility. Yet she succeeded in passing the faith to her children. They remained, so far as we can tell, practicing Catholics, marrying and having their children baptized in the Church.

NOTES

1. John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 112, 153–59. For Scottish Catholics, see Alasdair F. B. Roberts, "The Role of Women in Scottish Catholic Survival," *Scottish Historical Review,* 70, 2, no. 190 (October 1991): 129–50.
2. Two recent works on American Catholic women's history have included very little on colonial English women. See James Joseph Kenneally, *The History of American Catholic Women* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1990) and Karen Kennelly, ed., *American Catholic Women: A Historical Exploration,* The Bicentennial History of the Catholic Church in America, ed. Christopher J. Kauffman (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989).
3. The best work on seventeenth-century Catholics is Michael James Graham, "'Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise': Religion and Community in Seventeenth-Century Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1984). See also Edward F. Terrar, *Social, Economic, and Religious Beliefs Among Maryland Catholic Laboring People During the Period of the English Civil War, 1639–1660* (Bethesda, Md.: International Scholars Publications, 1996).
4. Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985), 204, 275, 581; Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," 86. Jane Cockshutt's mother Jane had married 1) John Cockshutt, 2) Nicholas Causine, and 3) Robert Clarke. Jane and John Cockshutt had migrated in 1641 and had two daughters, Jane and Mary, who were born in England. Jane and Nicholas Causine had two sons, Ignatius and Nicholas. Robert Clarke had been married twice before he married Jane; his stepchildren from these previous marriages included Robert Greene, Thomas Greene, and Leonard Greene. Robert Clarke also had children of his own, although it is not clear which of his three wives gave birth to which of the children. These children were John, Robert, Thomas, and Mary.

5. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 581; Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 222; Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1974), 143; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, "'New-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., *Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century*, 158–64; Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," 85–91. Thomas Mathews had seven children who lived to adulthood: Thomas (?–1676/7), who married Sarah Boarman; Ignatius (?–1698), who married Mary Doyne (?–1755); William (1674–1725); Anne, who married 1) Thomas Mudd (?–1696) and 2) Philip Hoskins (c1650–1718); Jane (?–1738), who married Joshua Doyne (?–1698); Victoria, who married William Thompson; and Mary, who married William Boarman (1630–1709). He almost certainly had other children, but they probably died at an early age, since the child mortality rate was as high as 55 percent.

6. Thomas Mathews' will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 5, folios 83–85, Maryland State Archives (hereafter cited as MSA); Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife," 555–57.

7. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 581; Doyne folder, Filing Case A, Maryland Historical Society. Joshua's children by his first wife were: Dennis (?–1698), who married Jane; Ethelbert (?–1725), who married Jane Sanders; Jesse (1677–1727), who married Elizabeth Brent; Mary, who married 1) Ignatius Matthews (?–1698) and 2) Thomas Jameson (1679–1734); and possibly William (who died by 1726). For seventeenth-century marriages, see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 34 (1977): 542–71, especially 542–53; Walsh, "Marriage and Family," 137–140; Russell R. Menard, "Immigrants and Their Increase: The Process of Population Growth in Early Colonial Maryland," in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 88–110; Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), especially chap. 1. Carol Berkin provides an excellent synthesis of the literature on seventeenth-century Chesapeake women in *First Generations: Women in Colonial America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), chap. 1.

8. William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 8:44, 155–57. The best work on the Glorious Revolution in Maryland is Lois Green Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

9. Jane's uncle Ignatius Causine was a justice of the peace in Charles County, while her nephew William Boarman Jr. and her brother-in-law Thomas Mudd were justices of the peace in St. Mary's County. Lois Green Carr, *County Government in Maryland, 1689–1709* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), Appendix 1, 18–19, 25–26.

10. Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73; Ignatius Matthews's inventory, Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 18, folio 20; William Boarman's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 12, folio 108, MSA. The sheriffs compiled a list of Catholic chapels in 1697 which included very few of the domestic chapels; it did, however, include Boarman's and described its size. See *Archives of Maryland*, 26:46. Of the Catholic gentry who were adults in the 1680s, many of whom held government offices, only one-fifth (22.5 percent) owned chapels; of the Catholic gentry who reached adulthood between 1689 and 1720, nearly half (47.6 percent) owned chapels. See Beatriz B. Hardy, "Papists in a Protes-

tant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Maryland, 1689–1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1993), 91.

11. The inventory of Mary's husband Thomas Jameson in 1734 included a tabernacle and a bread box as well as two complete suits and one incomplete suit of "Church Stuff." See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 18, folios 493–97, MSA. In her will in 1755, Mary mentioned a large silver chalice, a little silver chalice, a pewter chalice, and one suit of "Church Stuff." See Prerogative Court Wills, liber 29, folios 559–60, MSA. Jane Doyne, the daughter of Jane and Joshua, married Henry Wharton, whose 1745 inventory included "1 Suit of Church Furniture." See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 32, folios 86–89, MSA. The inventory of Jane and Joshua's grandson Robert Doyne included "1 Suite Church Stuff" and "1 Silver Challice." See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 74, folios 71–74, MSA.

12. See Joseph C. Linck, "'Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced': Catholic Preaching in Anglo-Colonial America" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1994), 157–67; Joseph P. Chinnici, *Living Stones: The History and Structure of Catholic Spiritual Life in the United States*, The Bicentennnial History of the Catholic Church in America, ed. Christopher Kauffman (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989), 27–28.

13. Joan R. Gundersen, "The Non-Institutional Church: The Religious Role of Women in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* 51 (1982): 349–50.

14. Thomas Jameson's inventory, Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 18, folios 493–97, MSA; Linck, "Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced," 166. When Mary Jameson died twenty years after her husband, she owned the bread box, the bread iron cutters, and the red suit of "Church Stuff," as well as one large silver chalice, and a small silver chalice. See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 60, folios 369–70, MSA.

15. Thomas Clark, who had married Jane's niece Juliana Mudd, in 1719 left a legacy to the chapel "at Mrs. Jean Doyne's." See Prerogative Court Wills, liber 15, folio 280, MSA.

16. Joshua Doyne's inventory, Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 17, folios 97–103; Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73, MSA. Jane's children were Joshua (1690–1743), who married Ann; Ignatius (?–1763), who married Elizabeth Craycroft; Edward Aloysius (?–1748); and Jane, who married Henry Wharton (1674–1745). For housing in early Maryland, see Gloria Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 152, and Cary Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio,* 16 (1981): 135–96. On consumption, see Main, *Tobacco Colony*, chapters 6 and 7; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658–1777," *Historical Methods*, 13 (1980): 81–104; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45 (1988): 135–59.

17. Fasting days included all Sundays except during Lent, all weekdays during Lent, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in the four Ember weeks, all Fridays except during Christmas and between Easter and Whitsuntide, and the eves of most festivals or saints' days. Children, sick people, and pregnant or nursing women were allowed to eat more than one meal on fasting days but were not allowed to eat meat. Days of abstinence included Sundays in Lent, the three Rogation Days, St. Mark's Day, and most Saturdays. See *A Manual of Catholic Prayers for the Subscribers* (Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Bell, 1774), Evans #13588, 3–4; Richard Challoner, *The Catholic Christian Instructed in the Sacraments, sacrifice, ceremonies and observances of the Church: by way of question and answer* (London: n.p., 1737), 199–209.

18. Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73, MSA. The trustees

were Luke Gardiner, Clement Hill, and Clement Hill Jr. Maryland widows were entitled to an absolute interest in one-third of their husbands' personal estate (including slaves) and a lifetime interest in one-third of their real estate. See Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 149.

19. The quotation is from Le-6, American Catholic Sermon Collection, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University; for other examples of colonial sermons urging parental instruction, see Di-32, Mos-2, Mos-6, and Neal-1. See also Challoner, *Catholick Christian Instructed*, 105, 194; Linck, "Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced," 117–18, 137–38, 142–45. Joshua Doyne owned a parcel of books which were kept in the hall; see Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 17, folio 97, MSA. The Doynes' son Ethelbert owned "3 small catechisms." See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 11, folios 130–35, MSA.

20. Dianne Willen pointed out that women in early modern England had tremendous religious influence within their households; see "Women and Religion in Early Modern England," in Sherrin Marshall, ed., *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 140, 147. Debra Parish studied Anglican and Presbyterian funeral sermons and concluded that women were portrayed as important "religious models and valuable spiritual guides" and that they involved "themselves in wider religious affairs through both patronage and public example." See "The Power of Female Pietism: Women as Spiritual Authorities and Religious Role Models in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Religious History*, 17 (1992): 35, 38, 41. For Anglican women in the Chesapeake, see Gundersen, "The Non-Institutional Church," 347–57. Slaveowning women in the nineteenth century were concerned about their slaves' spiritual state, although they did not challenge the legitimacy of slavery itself; see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Religion in the Lives of Slaveholding Women of the Antebellum South," in Lynda Coon, Katherine Haldane, and Elisabeth Sommers, eds., *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 207–25.

21. Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 158–62, 170; *Their Majesties v. Honor Boughton*, Charles County Court and Land Record, liber S No. 1, folios 242, 283–84, MSA.

22. *Archives of Maryland*, 30:71–73, 76–77, 89, 334.

23. Bachelor's Hope, St. Mary's County, Survey Report No. MD-59, Historic American Buildings Survey. Nicholas Power in 1712 had ordered that his daughter Mary "be and remain" with Jane Doyne until age sixteen, and his executor paid Jane Doyne for boarding and schooling Mary. Mary ended up marrying Jane's son Joshua Doyne. The widow Jane Llewellin in 1722 left her daughter Margaret to the care of Mrs. Jane Doyne. See Prerogative Court Wills, liber 13, folio 430, and liber 18, folio 7; Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 35A, folios 15–16, and liber 36C, folios 285–90, MSA.

24. As the male-female ratio improved, Chesapeake widows were under less pressure to marry. On widows, see Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, chap. 3; Vivien Leigh Bruce Conger, "'Being Weak of Body But Firm of Mind and Memory': Widowhood in Colonial America, 1630–1750" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994).

25. Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73, MSA.

26. When Joshua Doyne died in 1698, only seven of his sixteen slaves listed in his will shared names with members of the Doyne family; see Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73, MSA. On naming patterns among Chesapeake slaves, see Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Explicatus* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1984), 97–103; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 451–52, 546–

51; and Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 159–70. The Burwell slaves studied by Walsh did not share their owners' names; the other scholars did not note any relationship between the names of slaves and owners.

27. Prerogative Court Wills, liber 22, folio 81, MSA. Jane left the children of her son Joshua Doyne six slaves: the adults Ann and William, the lad Joseph, and the children Robert, Phillice, and Mary. These six slaves were to remain in Joshua's possession until his death. Jane's son Ignatius received the boy Ignatius and the girl Victoria. Her son Edward received the man Joshua and the girl Ann.

28. For the estates of Joshua's sons, see Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 17, folio 18; Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 11, folio 130; ibid., liber 12, folio 340; ibid., liber 28, folio 201; ibid., liber 83, folio 39, MSA. No inventories exist for the estates of William Doyne, who died by 1726, and Edward Aloysius Doyne, who died in 1748.

29. Joseph Doyne, the son of Ignatius Doyne, studied at St. Omers from 1755 to 1758 and became a Jesuit priest. Francis Wharton, the son of Jane Doyne Wharton, studied at St. Omers from 1741 to 1749 and became a Jesuit, but died before taking holy orders. Eleanor Wharton became a Carmelite nun at Lierre. The only parish membership lists which survive are for St. Inigoes in 1768 and 1769, when women outnumbered men, 163 to 140; the lists have been printed in Edwin W. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland,* 2d ed. (Abell, Md.: n.p., 1976), 68–70. Women outnumbered men in the sodalities, 158 to 27; see #6.3, folio 3, and #202A14, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University (hereafter cited as MPA). Women outnumbered men in most colonial churches; see Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 112–15.

30. The literature on slavery is vast. In addition to the previously cited *Slave Counterpoint* by Philip Morgan and *From Calabar to Carter's Grove* by Lorena Walsh, the most important works on colonial Chesapeake slavery include Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Jean B. Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 43 (1986): 333–61; Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 32 (1975): 29–54; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake family and their slaves: A study in historical archaeology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For Jesuit slaves, see Peter Finn, "The Slaves of the Jesuits in Maryland" (M.A. thesis, Georgetown University, 1974), and R. Emmett Curran, S.J., "'Splendid Poverty': Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1805–1838" in *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture,* ed. Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 125–46.

31. Philemon Charles Blake's inventory, Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 73, folios 170–81, and John Sayer Blake's inventory, ibid., liber 43, folios 176–86, MSA; Queen Anne's County Debt Book, 1754, folio 3, MSA.

32. Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA; Gundersen, "Non-institutional Church," 351; Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998),

163–64. Frey and Wood suggest that enslaved women may have been more likely to accept Christianity than enslaved men in hopes of protecting their children from witches, disease, and accidents.

33. One factor making the Catholic Church attractive may have been the differing attitudes of the whites involved. Unlike Catholic priests, Anglican ministers usually charged fees for officiating at marriages or funerals, although by law they could not charge for baptisms. One minister in Anne Arundel County regularly officiated at baptisms for slaves from the late 1600s to the 1720s and performed a few marriages. But most of the Anglican ministers in Maryland complained in 1731 that while they tried to encourage baptism of slaves, many slaveowners resisted; only seven of nineteen ministers reported instructing and baptizing slaves. And, indeed, a decade before Jenny's birth, an Anglican minister in neighboring Talbot County had drawn objections from his parishioners when he baptized slaves "at the same time, and in the same manner with white people." The white parishioners also objected to his publishing banns and officiating at the marriages of slaves. See Parish Register, All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, MSA; "A true Copy of Negroes & Mulattoes that have been Baptized Married & Buried in & near the Parish of All-hallows in the Province of Maryland by the Revd Mr Joseph Colbatch from the year 1722 to the Year 1729," Fulham Papers, 3:126–31; [Thomas Bacon] *Four Sermons, Preached at the Parish Church of St. Peter, . . . Two Sermons to Black Slaves, and Two Sermons for the Benefit of a Charity Working-School. . . . Orphans and Poor Children, and Negroes* (London: John Oliver, 1753; reprint, Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1783), 75.

34. From 1760 to 1776, Joseph Mosley recorded baptizing 235 blacks on the Eastern Shore, and he and James Walton recorded 291 black baptisms in St. Mary's County. See Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA; Walton's diary, #6.3, MPA.

35. There were four other girls and two boys born within two years of Jenny at Blakeford. See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 73, folios 170–87. For women's work, see Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 196–97; Carole Shammas, "Black Women's Work and the Evolution of Plantation Society in Virginia," *Labor History*, 26 (1985): 5–28.

36. In 1749 the wealthiest man in Maryland, a Catholic named Richard Bennett, died; his primary heir was his Protestant nephew, Edward Lloyd, who must have inherited dozens of slaves. Though the Bennett/Lloyd estate was very near to the Blake plantations, none of the Lloyd slaves appear in any of the Jesuit records for the Eastern Shore. Slaves belonging to other Protestants do appear, so some Protestants must have been willing to allow their slaves to practice a different religion. For Bennett, see Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "A Papist in a Protestant Age: The Case of Richard Bennett, 1667–1749," *Journal of Southern History*, 60 (1994): 203–28.

37. Prerogative Court Wills, liber 31, folios 166–67, MSA. Philemon Blake's daughters were unmarried, however, and continued to live with their mother, so presumably they kept their slaves together. Charles, the younger Blake son, was off at Catholic school in Europe and did not return to claim his property until 1763, so his slaves also probably remained at the main plantation.

38. Joseph Mosley to his sister, June 5, 1772, and October 3, 1774, in Joseph Mosley Papers, Early Maryland Jesuit Papers, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University.

39. For the burials, see Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA. The final account of Sarah Blake's estate included payments of 8.16.6 current money to two doctors for "Medicine and Attendance on the Negroes . . . after the Death of the afsd Sarah Blake (the Negroes being at that time Ill & in Great Danger)." See Prerogative Court, Accounts, liber 71, folios 84–85, MSA. The *Maryland Gazette* also reported on the epidemic at the Blakes in the July 9 and July 30, 1767 issues.

40. Mosley recorded the birth dates of the Tuckahoe slaves and the dates of their arrivals in his private diary; see #6.2b, MPA. The marriage is recorded in Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA. Most of the Eastern Shore slave marriages recorded by Mosley from 1764 to 1776 occurred on Sundays (22 of 43), while the most common days for Eastern Shore white marriages in the same years were Thursdays (10 of 31), followed by Sundays (8 of 31). Of the forty-two Blake slaves whose marriages were recorded in those years, twenty-two married other Blake slaves.
41. Mosley's private diary, #6.2b, and Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA.
42. Mosley to his sister, October 14, 1766, Mosley Papers; Tom's daughters Lucy, Henny, and Mary, ages seventeen, seven, and five, respectively, were sent to Bohemia on the upper Eastern Shore. See Mosley's diary, #6.2b, MPA. In 1798, Tuckahoe had 354.5 acres, one old dwelling house, one quarter, a smokehouse, a kitchen, an old granary, a stable, and a cornhouse; see Particular Lists of Dwelling Houses, Lands, Lots, Buldings, and Wharves, and Slaves, Island and Part of Tuckahoe Hundreds, No. 3, Federal Direct Tax of 1798, M3478-5, MSA.
43. Mosley's diary, #6.2b, MPA. On master-slave exchanges, see Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 364–65. On visiting by both slave and free women, see Joan R. Gundersen, "Kith and Kin: Women's Networks in Colonial Virginia," in *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South*, ed. Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 90–108.
44. For the baptisms and deaths, see Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA. On the different experiences of white and black women in childbirth, see Joan Rezner Gundersen, "The Double Bonds of Race and Sex: Black and White Women in a Colonial Virginia Parish," *Journal of Southern History*, 52 (1986): 359–65.
45. These relationships are my best guesses, based on the Blake inventories and Mosley's records, cited above.
46. Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA.
47. In one of Mosley's surviving sermons, he urged his listeners to offer "a daily pious morning oblation. Let Fathers and Mothers see [their] Children & Servants perform duely this truely Xan Exercise." In another sermon, he rebuked those who "neglect Publick Prayers in [their] Family, . . . [and] dont instruct [their] ignorant children & servants." See Mos-6 and Mos-2, American Catholic Sermon Collection.
48. "Regulations concerning the observance of Holydays in Maryland," in "The Old Records," #4 1/2, MPA, folios 4–6.
49. Mosley to his sister, October 3, 1774, Joseph Mosley Papers. From 1767 to 1772, Mosley had performed an average of 50.8 baptisms, 8.7 marriages, and 11.3 funerals per year. In 1774, the first full year after the suppression, he performed only 17 baptisms, 3 marriages, and 3 funerals. See Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA.
50. Gretchen Z. Koning, "The Transformation of the Catholic Community: Maryland, 1750–1840" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1993), 131–32. For the American Revolution in Maryland, see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).
51. Mosley to his sister, October 4, 1784, Joseph Mosley Papers.
52. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1907), 110. Mosley was buried at the graveyard at St. Joseph's on June 5, 1787. John Bolton (1742–1809) had arrived in Maryland in 1766 and served at Tuckahoe from 1787 until 1802, continuing Mosley's diary. Mosley bequeathed his property to a former Jesuit, James Walton of St. Mary's County. Walton assigned his property to the Corporation

of the Roman Catholic Clergymen in 1793. See Mosley's will, Talbot County Wills, Box 17, folder 41, MSA; Koning, "Transformation of Catholic Community," 144.
53. Mosley/Bolton diary, #6.4, MPA. Jenny was one of the official church witnesses at Samuel's wedding on May 13, 1799. Samuel was an official witness at his sister Henrietta's wedding on January 31, 1799; the entry noted that Henrietta was Jenny's daughter.

"To Stand in the Face of Danger for Us": The British Army and Maryland's Indentured Servants, 1755–1760

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

The presence and activities of King George II's army in the New World remain an equivocal part of America's pre-Republican past. Traditionally, writers have traced disenchantment with British regulars back to the era of the French and Indian War when, for the first time, large numbers of redcoats rubbed shoulders with the colonial population. These scholars argue that the capricious use of power by the Crown's forces proved to be the irritant that soured relations between callous servicemen and their trans-Atlantic cousins. In particular, it has been suggested that soldiers of the line and provincial levies developed deep feelings of animosity toward one another during long summer campaigns while the common folk cursed the king's men whenever their conveyances were impressed to serve the logistical requirements of a seldom-victorious army. On the home front, from Boston to Charleston, the need to provide winter quarters for the permanent forces brought troops and townsmen into direct confrontation with one another.[1]

Historians have also used events from the servant-rich colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to further illustrate the dismal relationship between British servicemen and the general populace. Standard accounts propose that widespread disaffection for the imperial war effort grew as hordes of indentured servants volunteered for active duty, leaving their masters, particularly middling tobacco planters, out-of-pocket for the unexpired time of their contractual agreements.[2] Analysis of a wider range of contemporary documents, however, including neglected archival sources from Baltimore County, permit a more nuanced interpretation of these events. Such an examination draws one to the conclusion that timeworn descriptions about the redcoats' predatory recruiting forays are based upon overestimations of actual servant enlistments, a distorted notion respecting the wealth and social standing of aggrieved owners, and a failure to appreciate that financial recompense was provided immediately by recruiting officers and by the legislative assembly at a later date.

This more moderate appraisal of civil/military relations was presaged by the words of a colonial Anglican cleric who counseled his flock during the summer of

Mr. Campbell is currently completing his doctoral dissertation about the Royal American Regiment at the University of Western Ontario.

1756 that personal sacrifices for the common good were required by all citizens during wartime. A published extract of his homily reminded the general public that the enlistment of Maryland servants during the momentous struggle against New France was of greater immediate consequence to the entire community than each resident's own narrow personal interest. While he acknowledged the fact that some people might be inconvenienced by the loss of their bondsmen, he pointed out that these men would soon join the British battle order and with other redcoats prepare "to stand in the Face of Danger for us."[3]

For the Good of the Empire

Maryland had never been greatly affected by the European dynastic squabbles that spilled across the Atlantic during the first century and a quarter of her existence. With no implacable foes near her borders, the province had been spared the ravages of frontier warfare whenever English, French, Spanish, and Amerindian interests collided. While New Englanders and New Yorkers had participated in King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and King George's War (1744–1748), Maryland remained isolated from these conflicts. In the same way, the 1740 joint enterprise carried out by South Carolina and Georgia to oust the Spanish from Florida was conducted without Annapolis' support. The colony's one military adventure had been modest with a small contingent of 309 volunteers serving in the British expeditionary force that attacked Cartagena during the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1741).[4] For a community devoted to maritime trade, peace with the House of Bourbon was desirable for continued prosperity at home. Consequently, Maryland's legislators were never eager to support military measures that would disrupt the lucrative export of their tobacco crops or retard their receipt of luxury goods and human chattel borne by British merchantmen.

In the years preceding the last colonial war with France, Lord Baltimore's proprietary colony stood at the heart of British North America's most populous and prosperous region. Like most other provinces south of Penn's Woods, Marylanders lived in a hierarchical society with bound labor at its base and a small group of planter-aristocrats at its apex. These disparate groups were separated by another whose fortunes were also linked to the soil: middling tobacco planters who owned their own land, a few slaves or servants, and whose financial well-being was tied to the economic roller-coaster related to the production of this unique New World commodity.[5]

Bound labor was key to economic prosperity along the Chesapeake during the 1750s. In a largely agrarian economy, where profits depended upon the acreage under cultivation, the size of one's work force often determined the amount of income generated by husbandry. Similarly, the scope of mercantile enterprise was dictated by the number of hands employed as ship-builders, carpenters, or steve-

dores in the burgeoning commercial centers of Annapolis, Baltimore, and Chester Town. While most affluent Marylanders preferred to own slaves, European servants remained attractive as a cheaper source of workers. The economics were simple: an indentured servant cost one-third the price of a slave, did not require a permanent commitment for personal maintenance when crop prices were at a low ebb and, in the case of felons transported to the colonies for fourteen years, worked only six years less than a typical African bondsman. Consequently, white retainers were still a meaningful component of Maryland's colonial economy and by 1755 comprised 8.25 percent of the province's Caucasian population.[6]

Indentured servitude is a broad term used to define a variety of vocational and economic relationships. At its core, it was a symbiotic association between two parties based upon the consensual exchange of labor in return for certain financial considerations. Ideally, an immigrant agreed to serve a sponsor for a fixed period of time in exchange for passage to the New World and assistance in becoming established after his or her time of servitude had passed. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that not all Britons willingly left their homeland for the golden shores of America. Since the transportation of white workers proved to be such a profitable venture, it was not unknown for young Englishmen to be "Barbadozed" by unscrupulous sea captains and sold to willing buyers along the tobacco coast. Likewise, convicts were banished to the colonies and forced into captivity until their sentences of seven or fourteen years had expired. Scholars have estimated that the mid-Atlantic and Chesapeake provinces welcomed at least fifty thousand such transports into their midst and profited from their misfortune.[7] Thus, all three groups, ready and reluctant immigrants alike, were deemed indentured servants and were expected to complete their times of service before they were set free.

The traditional pacific course steered by Maryland's ruling elite was abruptly overturned by neighboring Virginia's desire to establish pioneer settlements in the Ohio River Valley during the 1750s. There, in 1754, the expansionist dreams of the Ohio Company collided with the military might of Louis XV. Major George Washington's surrender of Fort Necessity to French and native warriors inaugurated a war that slowly spread around the globe. Both Britain and France, in a response to the looming crisis in the Great Lakes' watershed, rushed regular troops to their respective North American colonies in an effort to protect their territorial interests. When two understrength units of British infantry from Ireland, under the command of Major-General Edward Braddock, disembarked from their troopships at Alexandria, Virginia, in March 1755, Maryland's years of tranquillity came to an end. The colony's proximity to the forks of the Ohio River, where the French had constructed Fort Duquesne to protect their claim to the trans-Appalachian region of North America, placed Maryland adjacent to the British line of advance as the redcoats began their march to the northwest.[8]

The first phase of the controversy regarding the enlistment of bound labor began soon after the arrival of Braddock's meager detachment of regulars and lasted until the general's unforeseen death four months later. Since Whitehall did not expect to bear the sole responsibility of removing the French from the Ohio Valley, they anticipated that their American compatriots would provide food, transportation, and levies for the combined Anglo-colonial army. Military recruits, in particular, were most essential because all seven British line regiments serving in North America needed an effective strength of one thousand soldiers each before the summer campaigns began.[9] Consequently, between the latter half of April and the early weeks of June 1755, recruiting parties under the command of Virginian and regular officers appeared in three of Maryland's fourteen counties.[10]

The pervasive notion that the enlistment of indentured servants was a peremptory action carried out by the British military without regard for colonial property rights fails to acknowledge that all aspects of life in George II's army were firmly regulated by civil law and by the Mutiny Act. The recruiting process was not an exception to this rule; it was a joint process, conducted by military and civilian authorities and requiring the cooperation of both parties to function smoothly.[11] Officers assigned to this duty were normally dispatched from their regimental headquarters accompanied by a select number of non-commissioned officers and drummers. They carried with them beating orders, issued by their commanders, which had to be presented to the local magistrates before recruiting could begin in any jurisdiction. Only healthy Protestant males, between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five, taller than 5' 5" in height were deemed appropriate candidates for regimental duties. To ensure compliance, recruiting officers were responsible for the travel expenses of all prospects rejected as unfit for service by their unit's senior officers.[12]

Once a volunteer expressed interest in army life, he was given a small amount of bounty money to drink the king's health and to outfit himself with "necessaries," typically a shirt, shoes, and stockings, for the journey to the regiment. Enlistees were then given a grace period of up to four days to reconsider their decision, and they were not held liable for military service if they restored the bounty money and paid a fine of twenty shillings, known as "smart money," to compensate the officer for his time and effort. However, if the volunteer wanted to pursue a military vocation, then he was brought before the local justice of the peace where the pertinent sections of the Articles of War were read to him and he took the Oath of Fidelity. The enlistment process was then complete and the recruit was bound into the king's service for a fixed period of time and issued a certificate signed by the attending magistrate.[13]

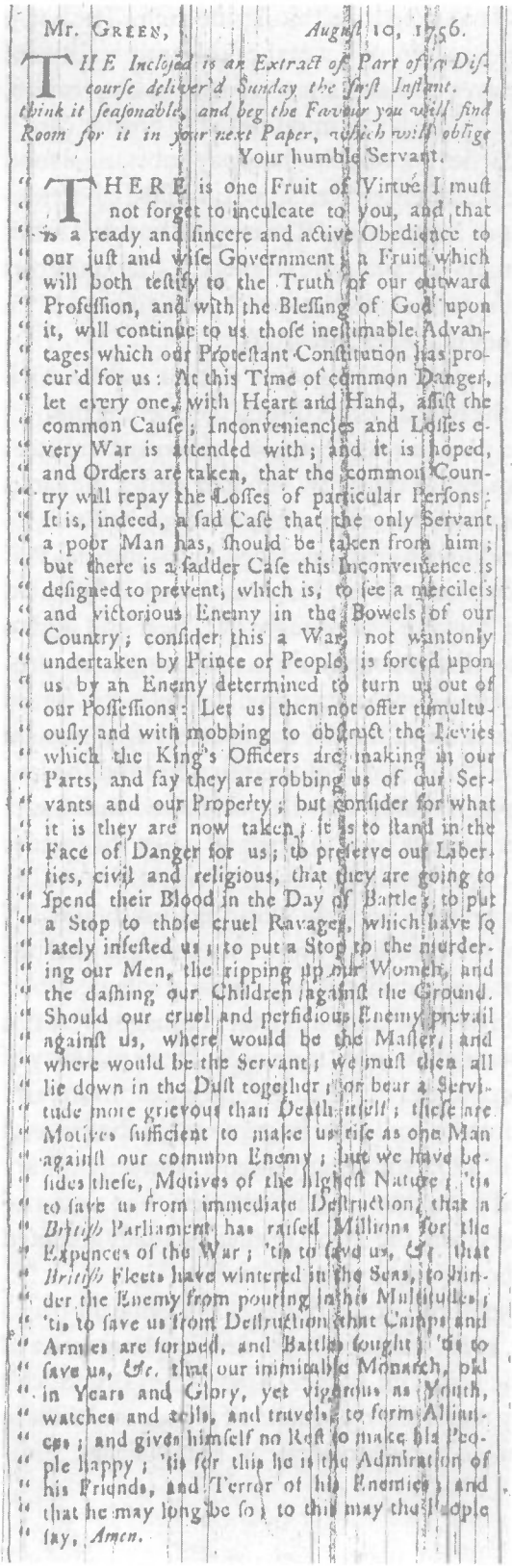
Writers generally agree that life in the Chesapeake region was difficult for most of the white servant population. The few surviving letters and journals portray masters as brutish, heartless, and uncaring. In some respects bound laborers

were treated worse than the African slaves who toiled alongside them. The harsh circumstances endured by servants were a byproduct of the economic realities of life along the tobacco coast. Since slaves and artisans were sold at a premium, pragmatic owners treated these more valuable commodities with greater care.[14] Such strategies benefited recruiting parties because the daily pay, substantial food allowances, and an annual issue of new clothing enticed some unskilled laborers to exchange their fetters for the red coat of King George II's army. Although it is not possible to determine precisely how many servants were among the 432 volunteers from Maryland and Virginia who joined the ranks between April and June 1755, contemporary sources indicate that they made ready recruits.[15]

Economic considerations aside, other factors were also at work which prompted bound laborers to enlist in the regular forces during the opening months of the war. Special attention must be paid to a sub-category of servant/enlistees who used military service to escape an unjust captivity. As noted earlier, the ranks of the servant caste included young males abducted by crimps and spirited away to America. An orderly attached to Braddock's army recorded in his journal that "We listed a man for 6 months to take Care of our Horses and several Indented Servants that had been kidnapped in England and brought over hear and sold to the Planters."[16] For these unfortunates, the appearance of a recruiting party provided a means to ameliorate their situation. Since recaptured servants were forced by the Maryland courts to serve ten extra days for every day of evasion, enlistment in the army was a good way to escape the long arm of their masters and the law. Additionally, once the summer campaign against Fort Duquesne had ended successfully, these servants expected free passage back to England when the regular regiments returned to Europe. The opportunity for reunion with their families could be very attractive for those conveyed to the New World against their will.[17]

Upon witnessing the defection of their workers, proprietors complained bitterly to Governor Horatio Sharpe about the military's actions and solicited their legislators for financial compensation because their monetary damages were not fully satisfied by the residue of their servants' bounty money. Since the majority of aggrieved masters resided only in the counties of Prince George's, Baltimore, and Frederick, however, support for restitution could not be garnered in the General Assembly. At least during the spring of 1755, the disagreements between military officers and the owners of indentured servants were limited to less than a quarter of the entire colony, and only recruiters from the 48th Regiment actually accepted volunteers from amongst the white bound labor population.[18]

The unexpected annihilation of the British expeditionary force along the banks of the Monongahela River on July 9, 1755, was merely the first in a long series of military reverses suffered during the war with France. Apart from Braddock's defeat, another Anglo-colonial army under the command of Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts Bay was unable to capture strategic Fort Niagara. Simi-



Mr. GREEN, *August* 10, 1756.

THE Incloſed is an Extract of Part of a Diſcourſe deliver'd Sunday the firſt Inſtant. I think it ſeaſonable, and beg the Favour you will find Room for it in your next Paper, which will oblige

Your humble Servant.

"THERE is one Fruit of Virtue I muſt not forget to inculcate to you, and that is a ready and ſincere and active Obedience to our juſt and wiſe Government; a Fruit which will both teſtify to the Truth of our outward Profeſſion, and with the Bleſſing of God upon it, will continue to us thoſe ineſtimable Advantages which our Proteſtant Conſtitution has procur'd for us: At this Time of common Danger, let every one, with Heart and Hand, aſſiſt the common Cauſe; Inconveniencies and Loſſes every War is attended with; and it is hoped, and Orders are taken, that the common Country will repay the Loſſes of particular Perſons; It is, indeed, a ſad Caſe that the only Servant a poor Man has, ſhould be taken from him; but there is a ſadder Caſe this Inconvenience is deſigned to prevent, which is, to ſee a merciles and victorious Enemy in the Bowels of our Country; conſider this a War, not wantonly undertaken by Prince or People, is forced upon us by an Enemy determined to turn us out of our Poſſeſſions: Let us then not offer tumultuouſly and with mobbing to obſtruct the Levies which the King's Officers are making in our Parts, and ſay they are robbing us of our Servants and our Property; but conſider for what it is they are now taken; it is to ſtand in the Face of Danger for us; to preſerve our Liberties, civil and religious, that they are going to ſpend their Blood in the Day of Battle; to put a Stop to thoſe cruel Ravages, which have ſo lately infeſted us; to put a Stop to the murdering our Men, the ripping up our Women, and the daſhing our Children againſt the Ground. Should our cruel and perfidious Enemy prevail againſt us, where would be the Maſter, and where would be the Servant; we muſt then all lie down in the Duſt together; or bear a Servitude more grievous than Death itſelf; theſe are Motives ſufficient to make us riſe as one Man againſt our common Enemy; but we have beſides theſe, Motives of the higheſt Nature; 'tis to ſave us from immediate Deſtruction, that a *Britiſh* Parliament has raiſed Millions for the Expences of the War; 'tis to ſave us, &c. that *Britiſh* Fleets have wintered in the Seas, to hinder the Enemy from pouring in his Multitudes; 'tis to ſave us from Deſtruction that Camps and Armies are formed, and Battles fought; 'tis to ſave us, &c. that our inimitable Monarch, old in Years and Glory, yet vigorous as Youth, watches and toils, and travels, to form Alliances; and gives himſelf no Reſt to make his People happy; 'tis for this he is the Admiration of his Friends, and Terror of his Enemies; and that he may long be ſo; to this may the People ſay, *Amen.*

The unidentified author of this address passionately defended George II's protection of the American colonies, including the drafting of indentured servants into the army. (Maryland Gazette, *August 12, 1756.*)

larly, the massive invasion force composed primarily of New Englanders failed to seize Crown Point. The rose bested the lily on only one occasion when, in the early summer of 1755, a combined force of regulars and provincials captured two small French posts in the heart of Acadia. Despite this success, the Bourbon threat to British North America remained as great as ever, and metropolitan officials could only dispatch two more regular regiments from their "slush fund" of the Irish Establishment for the proposed campaigns of 1756.[19]

After General Edward Braddock's death command of all the land forces in North America devolved upon Governor William Shirley. It was during his year-long administration that the second, and most explicated, phase of the recruiting controversy erupted as the seven British regiments based in North America began searching for 2,750 volunteers to replenish their muster rolls. During this period, troops from as far away as Nova Scotia descended upon Maryland in search of enlistees. Recruiting parties from the 50th and 51st regiments canvassed the province in an especially thorough manner. Both of these battalions had been raised in New England by Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperrell during the summer of 1754 and were still desperately short of men.[20] Whereas Braddock's companies had confined their recruiting activities principally to communities adjacent to the Potomac River, the sergeants from Massachusetts Bay scoured the entire province.

Maryland masters, though, were not as quiescent as they had been earlier in the spring of 1755. Armed with the knowledge that no one, including the members of their own legislature, would compensate them for their entire financial loss, they obstructed the enlistment of their servants by every method at their disposal. While most owners utilized the broad powers of civil law to imprison their servants or the recruiters for debt, residents of Kent County used force to protect their proprietary interests. When word finally reached Shirley about the opposition his troops faced, he tried to placate the populace by forbidding the enlistment of bound labor. But when it became apparent that the regular forces would not reach their full complement without the inclusion of white bondsmen, and the security of British North America would suffer as a result, the moratorium against accepting servants into the line regiments was rescinded after less than six months.[21]

It is difficult to understand the second phase of this dispute without reference to the broader North Atlantic context. Unfortunately for War Office officials, by 1756 France, still the European strongman, was preparing to invade England. As the realm's first minister, the Duke of Newcastle, explained to a colleague in Ireland: "I am sorry to say our Force in N. America is in such a situation, . . . The Evident Danger to this Country from 60,000 Men quarter'd over against us, under the Command of marshal Belisle, and ready to invade us upon the first Opportunity, makes it impossible to lessen our Small Army here, without Evident Hazard."[22] Great Britain's dire need for troops was such that seventeen thousand Hessian and Hanoverian soldiers were imported to shield the realm from a French

Alphabetical List of Baltimore County Masters, Servants, and Amount of Compensation Claimed in Maryland Currency

Owners' Names	Primary Occupation	Servants' Names	Compensation
Thomas Archer	Iron Manufacturer[a]	Patrick Mara	£11.12.9
John Bosley	Planter[b]	Joseph Finch	8.19.7
John Brown	Saddler[c]	Timothy McLaulin	4.0.7
Robert Bryarly	Planter[d]	John Jones	14.15
		Charles Pearce	1710 Tobo. [lbs. of Tobacco]
Daniel Charmier & John Carnan	Merchants[e]	Andrew Ungrie	2. 5. 5
Thomas Clendening	Merchant/Innkeeper[f]	Daniel Hamilton	13.12. 4
Gilbert Crocket	Planter[g]	Edward Walsh	4. 2.
Elnior Duhasan	Unknown[h]	Hanse Jorg Rochnor	5.16.10
George Ensor	Planter[i]	Thomas Mash	10.19. 4
William Govane	Merchant[j]	[ ] Riordan	20
		John McDaniel	20
Joshua Hall	Joiner[k]	John Gail	66
Thomas Harrison	Merchant[l]	Moses Haines	7.6.8
		Thomas Bess	1.2.11
Alexander Lawson & Company	Iron Manufacturers[m]	Thomas Handcock Richard Bacchus John Wolfe Christopher Weaner Jacob Nusser	48.4.6
Andrew Lendrum	Clergyman[n]	Peter Sullivan	£8
William Lux	Merchant[o]	Abram Upham	8.10
William Lyon	Physician/Merchant[p]	Andrew Grill	6.16
John Martin [Aquila Hall, Assignee]	Tenant Farmer[q]	James Curry	19.7.9
John McLaughlan	Planter[r]	Daniel Smith	3.2.6
Robert Mills [Aquila Hall, Assignee]	Tenant Farmer[s]	James Kennan	20.7
William Miser	Unknown	John Lippart	13.18.7
Renaldo Monk	Planter[t]	John Dule	10.15
George Myor	Planter[u]	Daniel Sehr	5.8
William Parlot	Planter[v]	Johannes Brunner	6.2.8
Brian Philpot	Merchant[w]	John Harrison Isaac Owen Nicholas Damilery	36.11.1
John Seely	Planter[x]	Michael Macnamarra	17.7.6
Joseph Smith	Iron Manufacturer[y]	John McAdow	9.6.8
		William Mcau	5.16.8
Daniel Stansbury Jr.	Planter[z]	John Price	1.16
Andrew Stigor	Innkeeper/Butcher[aa]	Jacob Bauman	7.12.6
Benjamin Tasker & Company	Iron Manufacturers[bb]	George Dale Francis Watkinson Thomas Ivory	5.6.8 10.9.5 12.13.4
Samuel Webb	Tanner[cc]	Michael McDaniel	9.19.6

Source: Baltimore County Court (Minutes), August 1755-November 1763, August and November Sessions, 1757, [MSA C-386, MdHR 5046, 2/14/13/26], Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland.

descent. Since the defense of England was of paramount importance during the latter half of 1755 and the beginning of 1756, the regular troops already serving in America had to fend for themselves with respect to recruitment. Consequently, all colonial volunteers had to be inducted into the land forces irrespective of their legal status.[23]

British administrators had been aware of the conflict of interest between servant owners and the military ever since the early 1740s. Although complaints had been lodged against governors who encouraged the enlistment of bound laborers during King George's War, Parliament had never acted in any official capacity to solve this colonial problem.[24] The closest parallel in the mother country to the American situation occurred whenever a civilian apprentice volunteered for active duty. At least during peace time, common law seemed to favor proprietorial rights, and the enlistee was usually discharged and returned to his custodian. However, in times of national emergency, apprentices were allowed to enlist in the army notwithstanding their masters' protests.[25] When word finally reached London about the uproar in the New World caused by the recruitment of bound labor, Whitehall administrators acted decisively to remove this impediment to their overseas' war effort.

Between the months of March and May 1756, the House of Commons expeditiously passed legislation sanctioning the enlistment of servants as well as clarifying the responsibilities of all parties involved. While recruiting officers were given the right to accept servants as bona fide volunteers, a cash settlement was mandated to settle all outstanding proprietorial interests. Furthermore, to prevent any abuses by the recruiting service, officers who behaved dishonorably could have their military commissions revoked with the concomitant loss of their purchase money and entitlement to half-pay. In keeping with imperial policy that the colonists should help to defray some of their own defense costs, the local assemblies were charged with the responsibility of appropriating funds to repay the masters above the normal rate allowed for recruits by the regiment.[26]

Word of Parliament's actions reached British North America in August and September 1756 but none of the provincial legislatures complied exactly with the letter of the new law. Pennsylvania, for instance, refused to compensate masters directly and solicited the English government for restitution amounting to £2,272 on their constituents' behalf. Similarly, the Old Dominion limited its financial liability by designating a portion of a pre-existing £8,000 military appropriation bill for the reimbursement of Virginians' property rights. Maryland also capped its indemnity by restricting awards only to those masters whose servants had entered either the provincial or regular service during the first eighteen months of the war.[27]

The volte-face by Annapolis legislators, previously reticent to repay masters whose servants had enlisted in Braddock's expeditionary force, was predicated

upon two factors. First, by 1756, recruiting parties no longer restricted their activities solely to Frederick, Baltimore, and Prince George's counties as they had at the beginning of the war. The new initiative from London had widespread support because residents in all areas of the province had experienced the defection of their white bound labor to military service. Second, and perhaps more important, prominent members from both divisions of the General Assembly had also lost some of their retainers to the army.[28] Their personal desire for recompense may have been the catalyst which finally prompted legislators to draft a compensation bill.

On May 9, 1757, Governor Horatio Sharpe assented to a measure providing amends for Maryland residents who had lost a servant to military recruiting parties prior to September 1, 1756. Local magistrates were empowered to assess financial damage by factoring a servant's original cost in relation to the unexpired time of his indenture. Certificates stating their judgment in local currency were then to be forwarded to the capital where funds would be paid to the owner. The act was to be in force for only three years and the assemblymen, cognizant of the British government's recent gift of £115,000 to New Englanders as partial repayment for their wartime expenses, hoped that Annapolis' coffers would be similarly reimbursed by the metropolitan authorities.[29]

The surviving Baltimore County court records from this era provide historians with a unique glimpse into the nature and extent of the dispute between masters and the military respecting the enlistment of indentured servants. As the data in Table 1 indicates, only thirty residents from Maryland's most populous region requested compensation for the loss of forty-two servants during the time when this well-advertised restitution act was in force. Not surprisingly, the first person to take advantage of this government bailout was assemblyman William Govane, a prosperous merchant, who received one of the highest recorded payments of £20 apiece for two of his indentured servants.[30] Eight other Baltimoreans drawn from the upper echelons of county society, representing 30 percent of all claimants, joined Govane in petitioning the government for redress. While not as socially prominent, four tradesmen, 13 percent of the total, should also be included amongst those who did not earn their living primarily through agricultural pursuits.

Even though tobacco planters represented the largest single interest block to appeal to the Baltimore County adjudicators, they were not a homogenous economic group and constituted less than half of the total number of applicants. At one end of the spectrum, their ranks embraced such wealthy men as George Ensor, who owned several hundred acres of land as well as seven slaves, and Robert Bryarly who had employed at least two servants on his plantation. Less prosperous cultivators were represented by tenant farmers like John Martin and Robert Mills who held leases on a tract called Aquila's Inheritance and eked out a meager living there.[31]

Iron manufacturing was a significant element of the diversified economy slowly developing in eighteenth-century Maryland. The labor-intensive nature of the industry spurred each company to employ large numbers of indentured servants. Representatives from four concerns, Archer and Company, the Nottingham Ironworks, the Onion Ironworks, and the Baltimore Ironworks, claimed compensation for the loss of eleven workers before the county judiciary. The partners in these enterprises included some of Maryland's most influential residents: Benjamin Tasker, *père où fils*, Charles Carroll, and various members of the ubiquitous Dulany clan.[32]

In twenty-nine out of thirty cases, the presentation of a magistrate's certificate to the General Assembly assured financial restitution. The legislators balked at paying Joshua Hall the £66 he demanded from them because his indentured servant was obviously not suitable military material.[33] Hall's menial, John Gale, was described as "a surly ill-looking Fellow, a Carpenter and Mill-Wright by Trade, about 40 Years of Age, about 5 Feet 4 Inches high, is well set, was born in the West of England, and speaks pretty thick, is much addicted to Swearing, his Fingers are hurt and crook'd by working with an Axe."[34] Aside from being appraised at more than three times his estimated maximum value of £20, Gale was clearly too old, too short, and physically unfit for regimental duties. Accordingly, the assemblymen would not agree to reimburse Joshua Hall for a servant who had bolted from his master's custody but had not enlisted in the army.

Joshua Hall's abortive attempt to blame the king's forces for the defection of his servant, and then recoup his financial losses at government expense, suggests an overlooked aspect of relations between the military and civilian population of colonial America. Despite the oversight of county magistrates, local kinship ties may have allowed remuneration for retainers who had not actually volunteered for active duty or sustained higher reparation payments than a servant's actual market value.[35] The former scenario is apparent in the fraudulent compensation claim filed by Benjamin Tasker and Company for George Dale, Francis Watkinson, and Thomas Ivory. All three men were known fugitives from the Baltimore Ironworks, and the local magistrates would have had these men arrested had they appeared before them to take the Oath of Fidelity and sign their enlistment papers. The fact that reward notices were published in the *Maryland Gazette* at intermittent intervals from September 24, 1754, through May 13, 1756, suggests that these men successfully evaded their masters but did not follow the drums of any recruiting party in Baltimore County.[36] Although the evidence for inflated compensation requests is less obvious, when one remembers that unskilled servants sold for as little as £10 sterling, the six other claims above this base amount, particularly those filed by men from the agricultural sector, appear dubious. In Virginia, Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie was suspicious of exorbitant demands upon his government and feared that some masters were lining their pockets at his

treasury's expense.[37] One suspects that this phenomenon was also occurring in Baltimore County.

Historians commenting upon the indentured servant dispute have focused their narratives primarily upon conflicts between masters and recruiting officers during the first eighteen months of the war. Little thought has been given to the fact that both parties, in Maryland at least, had reached a compromise by the fall of 1756. This period of *rapprochement* began shortly after John Campbell, Fourth Earl of Loudoun, succeeded Governor William Shirley as British commander-in-chief and lasted for the duration of the war. In addition to imperial legislation regulating servant enlistment, civilian disenchantment was quieted principally because of two other circumstances. First, the number of servants willing to enlist in the army declined dramatically after Braddock's drubbing at the Monongahela River and continued throughout the latter half of 1756. Consequently, owners' discontent lessened as fewer and fewer of their laborers actually volunteered for military duty.[38] Second, the preeminent regular recruiting presence in the province was now the 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot which, as a unit deployed for home defense, enjoyed the support of the colonial population.[39]

It is important to realize the tonic effect that the presence of the Royal Americans had on Maryland's citizenry. Prior to its arrival, masters had been reticent to see their servants enlist for service in distant Nova Scotia or along the marchlands of New York when their own frontiers were continually exposed to the depredations of Amerindian war parties. Indeed, the 1756 recruiting riots in Kent County and a similar disturbance in Baltimore County, generally interpreted as clear evidence of disaffection for the British army as a whole, should be viewed in this light.[40] Scholars have long recognized that colonists living in regions with large servile populations were apprehensive at the loss of any Caucasian males whose presence served as a bulwark against slave revolt. Additionally, Protestant Marylanders, particularly after Braddock's defeat, feared a Papist insurrection organized by their own Roman Catholic servants in alliance with a Bourbon fifth column believed active in the province.[41] These internal threats, compounded by the army's practice of enlisting only Protestant volunteers, severely weakened the perceived security of the entire colony. Civilian anger was, therefore, not directed at all the British regulars, but only at those regiments stationed at a great distance from Maryland itself. Since the 60th Regiment was raised to defend the borders of the mid-Atlantic and Chesapeake regions, Marylanders were not as disgruntled when one of their retainers joined the ranks of this particular regiment.[42]

Unlike the records compiled by Benjamin Franklin on behalf of Pennsylvanian masters who had experienced the defection of 613 of their servants to the military, the annals of Baltimore County do not give any precise indication about the numbers of volunteers enlisted by each regiment. However, if the recruiting patterns

evident in Pennsylvania were repeated in Maryland, then the Royal American Regiment was clearly the most popular choice of the servants themselves. Of the 415 Pennsylvania servants' names noting regimental or company affiliation, 214 men (slightly more than 50 percent) joined the colors of the 60th. A distant second was Lascelle's 47th Regiment from Nova Scotia which could entice only forty-five servants (11 percent) into its ranks. Next came Shirley's and Pepperrell's New England levies, who added a total of only thirty-five (8.5 percent) and twenty-four (6 percent) men to their rosters. Nineteen colonists (4.5 percent) volunteered for the 48th Regiment and thirteen (3 percent) enrolled in the 44th. The remaining units from Halifax, the 40th and 45th regiments, recruited four (1 percent) and three (0.72 percent) enlistees, respectively. The insignificant balance of men joined either provincial units, the Royal Artillery, or the New York Independent Companies.[43]

Public support for the 60th Regiment is evident in other ways as well. Only one Royal American officer was ever involved in a disagreement concerning the recruitment of bound labor in Maryland. In a celebrated case, the overseer of Lancashire Forge, Corbin Lee, commenced legal action against the recruiting party of Captain Abraham Bosomworth for the recovery of four servants enlisted, but not paid for, according to the 1756 Act of Parliament. However, far from being disenchanted with the entire British military, Lee was only concerned with the high-handed behavior of Captain Bosomworth's lackey, a corporal, who had been subsequently imprisoned by Lee for debt. Certainly, even in this instance, the overseer did not begrudge the loss of his workers provided that his proprietorial interest was satisfied according to the existing laws of the land.[44]

As Corbin Lee's conduct illustrates, Maryland masters were not timid nor defenseless creatures. Property rights continued to be upheld by the bar, and recruiting officers who failed to meet the financial expectations of masters were liable to be sued for high damages in civil court. Consequently, the Earl of Loudoun, in his instructions for the year 1757, stipulated that only veteran servants who were valued at less than £3 apiece by the local magistrates should be enlisted and that compensation was to be immediately furnished from regimental coffers.[45] The spirit of this regulation was still in force during the closing months of the war when one officer advertised in the local press:

> ALL Men, fit and willing to serve his majesty King, G E O R G E, in Brigadier-General Stanwix's Battalion of his Majesty's Royal American Regiment of Foot, are hereby desired to come to Mr. Inch's at Annapolis, where they will find some of Captain Cochran's Party, and meet with all due Encouragement. Such Servants whose time is near out, will on their Enlisting with Captain Cochran, have the Remainder of their time paid for by him.[46]

Certainly, the owners' assertion of their property rights had carried the day and they were ultimately respected by all parties concerned with the enlistment of Maryland's bound laborers.

When all the evidence is considered, it is difficult to maintain the conventional view that redcoated recruiting parties were an oppressive presence in Maryland during the French and Indian War. A more comprehensive interpretation of these events would take into account Whitehall's signal endorsement of property rights, the geo-political situation during the cold war of 1755–1756, the legitimate manpower requirements of the regular regiments garrisoned in North America, and the justifiable aspirations of the indentured servants themselves. Moreover, the Baltimore County court records indicate that only thirty colonists, 1 percent of the region's free white taxables, most of them merchants, tradesmen, and artisans, requested compensation for the loss of 4 percent of the county's hired or bound white labor force.[47]

Aside from not greatly depleting the number of Baltimore County's bondsmen, it is also apparent that the dispute between civilians and redcoats did not last for the entirety of the war. The controversy surrounding the enlistment of indentured servants fell into three distinct phases with the final period of concord constituting the longest. Although still a matter of speculation, it is not unreasonable to think that some Baltimore County residents, like their Virginia confreres, actually profited from government compensation provisions by submitting higher claims than their servants were actually worth or by debiting the assembly's account for fugitive laborers who never enlisted in the army. Instead of suffering from the army's presence in the colony, some inhabitants may have profited to an extent not previously appreciated. Only by ignoring all these factors may one perpetuate the unflattering stereotype of the British servicemen's activities in the province.

Perhaps Reverend Andrew Lendrum of St. George's Parish, Baltimore County, was the unnamed Anglican divine who submitted a portion of his sermon for publication in the August 12, 1756 edition of the *Maryland Gazette*.[48] Like other Maryland masters who lost the services of a laborer, Lendrum could relish the fact that his retainer, Peter Sullivan, was a member of the Protestant army who triumphed over the forces of Louis XV at the battles of Louisbourg, Niagara, Quebec, and Montreal. Far from being disenchanted with the British military, the rector of St. George's Parish exemplified other community members who realized that their civic duty required personal sacrifice for the greater common good. In his case, the loss of Peter Sullivan was tempered both by financial compensation and the knowledge that his servant had volunteered "to stand in the Face of Danger for us."

NOTES

1. James Titus, *The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 127; Harold E. Selesky, *War and Society in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 213–19; Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies & Tribes in the Seven Years' War in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), 206–11, 298–305; Douglas E. Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 107–33; Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 111–41; Alan Rogers, *Empire and Liberty: American Resistance to British Authority* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 51–89.

2. Leach, *Roots of Conflict*, 83–86; Margaret M. R. Kellow, "Indentured Servitude in Eighteenth-Century Maryland," *Histoire Sociale-Social History*, 16 (1984): 247; Mark J. Stegmaier, "Maryland's Fear of Insurrection at the Time of Braddock's Defeat," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71 (1976): 477; Rogers, *Empire and Liberty*, 41–50; Abbot E. Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1965), 282.

3. *Maryland Gazette*, August 12, 1756, 3.

4. Anthony W. Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration, and Settlement at Darien, 1735–1748* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 76–92; Debra R. Boender, "Maryland," in Alan Gallay, ed., *Colonial Wars of North America, 1512–1763: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), 417–24; Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 131–74; Richard H. Harding, "The Growth of Anglo-American Alienation: The Case of the American Regiment, 174–42," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 17 (1982): 161–84; William H. Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 42:162.

5. Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 90–92; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986) 128–29, 295–96; Richard S. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor," in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 176; Paul G. E. Clemens, "The Operation of an Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Tobacco Plantation," *Agricultural History*, 49 (1975): 522–23.

6. Sharon V. Salinger, *To Serve Well and Faithfully: Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1808* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 73; Kenneth Morgan, "The Organization of the Convict Trade to Maryland: Stevenson, Randolph and Cheston, 1768–1775," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 42 (1985): 220; Gregory A Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth-Century Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 47–48. The total white population of Maryland in 1755 numbered 107,208. The servant population included 8,851 men, women, and children. See "An Account of the Number of Souls in the Province of Maryland, in the Year 1755" (hereafter Maryland Census, 1755), MS. 2018, Manuscript Division, Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MdHS), Baltimore, Maryland.

7. Alan Atkinson, "The Free-Born Englishman Transported: Convict Rights as a Measure of Eighteenth-Century Empire," *Past and Present*, 144 (1994): 98–99; Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: The Penguin Press, 1991), 16–17; A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound For America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 1–4; Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, 16–20, 68–86.

8. Frank W. Brecher, *Losing a Continent: France's North American Policy, 1753–1763* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), 22–88; Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 39–45; W. J. Eccles, *France in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 178–84; Guy Fregault, *Canada: The War of the Conquest*, trans. Margaret M. Cameron (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), 68–95.

9. Major-General Edward Braddock to Sir Thomas Robinson, April 19, 1755, Colonial Office (hereafter CO) series 5, volume 46, 25, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), London, England. In 1755 three regiments, the 40th, 45th, and 47th, were stationed in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The 44th and 48th regiments were sent from Ireland to form the backbone of Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne. The 50th and 51st regiments were raised in the colonies and were posted along the Mohawk River, in central New York, during the first year of the war. Governor William Shirley to Sir Thomas Robinson, September 28, 1755, in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *The Correspondence of William Shirley Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731–1760*, 2 vols. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1912), 2:297–98.

10. Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, June 10, 1755, in Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:218; Daniel Dulany, "Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1755," December 9, 1755, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 3 (1879): 13–14.

11. John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 47–48; John Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689–1702* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 84–89; R. E. Scouller, *The Armies of Queen Anne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 254–62; Charles M. Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown; Their Administration and Government*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1869), 1:83–86. See also Articles 1 and 2 of Section III "Rules and Articles for the Better Government of His Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards, and all Other His Forces in Great Britain and Ireland, Dominions Beyond the Seas, and Foreign Parts. *Anno* 1749," in Sheila Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, 147 vols. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1975), 16:6.

12. "Recruiting Instructions," Albany, November 15, 1756, Loudoun Collection (hereafter LO), 2221, Henry E. Huntington Library (hereafter HEH), San Marino, California; "Recruiting Instructions for the 45th Regiment," n.d., in John B. Linn and William H. Egle, eds., *Pennsylvania Archives* (2d ser.), 19 vols. (Harrisburg: State of Pennsylvania, 1874–1893), 2:594–96; Alan J. Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline: Officership and Administration in the British Army, 1714–1763* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 125; Glenn A. Steppler, "The Common Soldier in the Reign of George III, 1760–1793" (Ph. D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1984), 9–23.

13. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 2, 1756, 1; Thomas Simes, *The Military Guide for Young Officers*, 2 vols. (London: Reprinted by J. Humphreys, R. Bell, and R. Aitken, Printers and Booksellers, Philadelphia, 1776), 1:242; Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline*, 124–25.

14. Peter Wilson Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains: A Social History of Forced Emigration to the*

Americas, 1607–1775 (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1992), 95; Ekirch, *Bound for America*,146–66; William Eddis, *Letters from America*, ed. Aubrey C. Land (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 38; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), 16–18; W. Gordon Milne, "A Glimpse of Colonial America as Seen in an English Novel of 1754," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 42 (1947): 239–52.

15. "A Return of His Majesty's Troops Encamped at Will's Creek," June 8, 1755, in Stanley M. Pargellis, ed., *Military Affairs in North America, 1748–1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle* (New York: D. Appleton Century, 1936), 86–87; Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, June 9, 1755, in Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:218; Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline*, 147–51; Sylvia R. Frey, *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 30–37; Charles Hamilton, ed., *Braddock's Defeat: The Journal of Captain Robert Chomley's Batman. The Journal of a British Officer. Halkett's Orderly Book* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 12.

16. Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat*, 12.

17. In addition to generous enlistment bounties, Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie had promised that all Virginian volunteers engaged by him for the line regiments would be discharged from the service immediately after the campaign of 1755 was completed. Presumably, the regular recruiting parties offered similar terms. Coldham's perceptive comments about the desire for convicts to return to their homes is equally applicable to those "Barbadozed." *Virginia Gazette*, February 28, 1755, 4; Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 125, 205–9.

18. Governor Horatio Sharpe to John Sharpe, May 24,1755, in Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:211; Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, June 10, 1755, in ibid, 6:218; Dulany, "Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies," 14. Contemporary evidence suggests that British recruiting parties gave masters the residue of the enlistment bounty once a servant had furnished himself with "necessaries" and drunk the king's health. In the case of one Maryland master, Captain Samuel Gardner paid Valerius Duchart £2.14.0 sterling for one of his servants. Baltimore County Accounts, box 11, folder 53, "Valerius Duchart," 1757, [MSA C-263, MdHR 8894, 2/35/14/8], Maryland State Archives, (hereafter MSA), Annapolis, Maryland.

19. Paul E. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), 3–89; Douglas E. Leach, *Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607–1763* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1973), 351–62, 371–78; John C. Webster, *The Forts of Chignecto: A Study in the Eighteenth Century Conflict Between France and Great Britain in Acadia* (Shediac, New Brunswick: The Author, 1930), 49–62. For a discussion of the decrepit state of British regulars on the Irish Establishment, see Thomas Bartlett, "Army and Society in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in W. A. Maguire, ed., *Kings in Conflict: The Revolutionary War in Ireland and its Aftermath, 1689–1750* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 1990), 173–85.

20. Sir William Pepperrell to Governor Robert H. Morris, May 26, 1755, Simon Gratz Manuscripts, "Colonial Wars," case 4, box 8, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Governor William Shirley to Sir Thomas Robinson, August 12, 1755, in Lincoln, *Correspondence of William Shirley*, 2:225. Details about the formation and activities of the 50th and 51st Regiments of Foot are found in William A. Foote, "The American Units of the British Regular Army," M.A. Thesis, Texas Western College, 1959, 171–86.

21. *Maryland Gazette*, February 5, 1756. On September 19, 1755, Shirley ordered all regiments to stop the enlistment of indentured servants. Shortly before February 12, 1756, this ban had to be lifted. Governor William Shirley to Colonel Thomas Dunbar, September 19, 1755, in Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st ser.), 12 vols. (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns

and Company, 1852–1856), 2:417–18; Governor Robert H. Morris to Sir Charles Hardy, February 12, 1756, in ibid., 2:572–73; Governor William Shirley to Governor Horatio Sharpe, March 5, 1756, in Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:348.

22. Hollis Newcastle to the Duke of Devonshire, February 5, 1756, Additional Manuscripts, 32862, 370, British Library, London, England.

23. Peter H. Wilson, *German Armies: War and German Politics, 1648–1806* (UCL Press Ltd., 1988), 263–67; Uriel Dann, *Hanover and Great Britain, 1740–1760* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991), 96–97; Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1762* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 4.

24. Governor William Shirley to Henry Fox, March 8, 1756, in Lincoln, *Correspondence of William Shirley*, 2:414; Governor Robert H. Morris to the Pennsylvania Assembly, February 13, 1756, in George E. Reed, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives* (4th ser.) 12 vols. (Harrisburg: State of Pennsylvania, 1900–1902), 2:583.

25. "Right of Apprentices to Enlist in the Army, Questioned," in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 29 (1759): 125; Bennett Cuthbertson, *A System for the Complete Interior Management and Oeconomy of a Battalion of Infantry*, 2d ed. (London: J. Millan, 1779), 42–43. See the letter of Captain Archibald Grant to Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Bagshawe, December 22, 1751, for details about releasing apprentices to their masters after their enlistment in Alan J. Guy, ed., *Colonel Samuel Bagshawe and the Army of George II, 1731–1762* (London: The Army Records Society, 1990), 104–5.

26. "An Act for the Better Recruiting of his Majesty's Forces on the Continent of America; and for the Better Regulation of the Army, and Preventing of Desertion There," in Danby Pickering, ed., *The Statutes at Large From the Magna Carta, to the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain, anno. 1761*, 46 vols. (Cambridge: J. Benton, 1762–1807), 21:497–502; R C. Simmons and P. D. G. Thomas, eds., *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, 1754–1783*, 6 vols. (London: Kraus International Publications, 1982–1987), 1:173, 176. The entire act was not widely known in Maryland until it was published in the September 23, 1756, edition of the *Maryland Gazette*.

27. "List of Servants Belonging to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Taken in His Majesty's Service, For whom Satisfaction has not Been Made by the Officers According to [the] Act of Parliament," n.d. (hereafter Pennsylvania Servants), LO 3415, HEH; Benjamin Franklin to Isaac Norris, May 30, 1757, in Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 34 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959–), 7:223–29; "An Act for Raising Recruits for His Majesty's Service; and for Other Purposes Therein Mentioned," in William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols. (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1809–1823), 7:61–63; Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 55:136. The proviso for compensating masters whose servants enlisted in provincial levies is gleaned from the Frederick County Court Minutes where it is noted that restitution was paid for a servant who enlisted in Captain Dagworthy's company of Maryland provincials. Aside from this information, the rest of the county's accounts respecting this issue are illegible. Frederick County Court (Minutes), 1750–1757, August Sessions, 1757 [MSA C-831-2, MdHR 831, 1/40/13/51], MSA.

28. Baltimore County Court (Minutes) (hereafter BCCM), August 1755–November 1763, August and November Sessions, 1757 [MSA C-386, MdHR 5046, 2/14/13/26], MSA; "Govane, William" in Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 1:368–69; "Tasker, Benjamin" in ibid., 2:799–800.

29. Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 55:136–37; Leach, *Arms for Empire*, 391. Mention of the compensation legislation was made in the local press and advertisements were displayed throughout the province by order of the local magistrates. In Baltimore County the August session of the court was postponed one week to allow claimants time to prepare their appeal. *Maryland Gazette*, May 12, 1757, 3; BCCM, August 1755–November 1763, August Sessions, 1757, MSA.

30. *Maryland Gazette*, May 1, 1755, 3; "Govane, William" in Papenfuse, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 1:368–69. Records of indentured servants sold by Samuel Galloway during the 1750s reveal that artisans such as carpenters, coopers, masons, and tailors fetched a price of between £15 and £20 each. Conversely, unskilled laborers were sold for as little as £10. Samuel Galloway Ledger, 1753–1779, 2–11, Cheston-Galloway Papers, MS. 1994, MdHS.

31. BCCM, August 1755–November 1763, August Sessions, 1757, MSA; Bush River, January 5, 1760, Bush Store Day Book, 1759–1761, Aquila Hall Papers, Harford County Historical Society, Bel Air, Maryland; Baltimore County Wills (Wills, Original) box 14, folder 1, George Ensor, May 22, 1771 [MSA C-437, MdHR 5045, 2/14/13/26], MSA. It was not unknown for some tenant farmers to employ servants or slaves. Among the forty or so leaseholders living on Baltimore County's Gunpowder Manor, at least nine owned bound laborers. Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty*, 36, 46, 52–53.

32. BCCM, August 1755–November 1763, August and November Sessions, 1757, MSA; *Maryland Gazette*, January 13, 1757, 4; ibid., June 23, 1757, 3; Keach Johnson, "The Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," *Journal of Southern History*, 19 (1953): 157.

33. Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 55:641.

34. *Maryland Gazette*, September 18, 1755, 3.

35. Both Aquila Hall, who appeared before the justices on behalf of his two tenants, John Martin and Robert Mills, and William Lux had close relatives who were attending magistrates at the proceedings. Hall's cousin Martha was married to Walter Tolley and Lux's brother-in-law was Nicholas Ruxton Gay. In 1756, Lux had also served as a justice of the peace in Baltimore County. BCCM, August 1755–November 1763, August Sessions, 1757, MSA; "Hall, Aquila" in Papenfuse, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 1:380; "Lux, Darby" in ibid, 2:554; "Lux, William" in ibid, 2:557.

36. George Dale is known to have fled the ironworks on August 31, 1754. This was seven months before British regular forces arrived in the New World and began searching for volunteers. Similarly, Watkinson and Ivory were reported as escapees from the same place during the spring of 1756. *Maryland Gazette*, September 24, 1754, 3; ibid., March 25, 1756, 4; ibid., May 13, 1756, 4. While in dire need of men, the army did not automatically enroll all volunteers who presented themselves. Captain Samuel Gardner to Governor Horatio Sharpe, August 21, 1756, in Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:462.

37. Jack P. Greene, ed., *The Diary of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752–1778*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 1:169. Although fourteen compensation requests are above £10 Maryland currency, only six are actually above £10 sterling when the mid-1750s exchange rate of 165/100 is considered. John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 198.

38. Governor Horatio Sharpe to the Earl of Loudoun, October 12, 1756, LO 2010, HEH; Governor Horatio Sharpe to Henry Fox, October 28, 1756, in Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:500; Earl of Loudoun to William Pitt, March 10, 1756, in Gertrude S. Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt When Secretary of State With Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America*, 2 vols. (New York: MacMillan Company, 1906), 1:15–16.

39. Thomas Ringgold to Edward Tilghman, September 23, 1756, MS. 2018, MdHS; Jeremiah Gridley to the Earl of Loudoun, June 6, 1757, LO 3797 HEH. A second corps, Thomas Gage's 80th (Light Infantry) Regiment of Foot, which recruited in Maryland during 1758, also enjoyed the favor of American colonists. Major-General Jeffrey Amherst to Governor Charles Lawrence, January 16, 1759, War Office, series 34, volume 46B, 93, PRO; Daniel J. Beattie, "The Adaptation of the British Army to Wilderness Warfare, 1755–1763, in Marteen Ultee, ed., *Adapting to Conditions: War and Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1986), 70–71. By the fall of 1756, recruiting parties from the Nova Scotia regiments were no longer as omnipresent in Maryland as they had been earlier that year. The only officer from the Halifax garrison still resident in the Chesapeake region was withdrawn from the area in November 1756 in response to the War Office's decision to fill the outstanding manpower needs of the 40th, 45th, and 47th regiments from Irish troop drafts. Major John Rutherford to [Governor Horatio Sharpe], September 12, 1756, Frank M. Etting Collection, Autographs, Colonial Wars, HSP; Earl of Loudoun to Brigadier-General John Stanwix, November 9, 1756, LO 2184, HEH; "List of Officers Belonging to the Regiments in Nova Scotia upon Recruiting Duty," n.d., LO 2186, HEH; Earl of Loudoun to Henry Fox, January 4, 1757, LO 2635 B, HEH.

40. *Maryland Gazette*, February 5, 1756, 3; Captain Samuel Gardner to Governor Horatio Sharpe, August 15 and 21, 1756, in Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:461–62; James Moore to Margaret Palman, September 19, 1756, Records of the High Court of the Admiralty and Colonial Vice-Admiralty Courts, Class 30, Item 258, PRO; "Extract of Mr. Dulany's Letter from Maryland," November 4, 1756, Chatam Papers, PRO 30/8/95, PRO. Colonists in other regions of British North America were also averse to the loss of local manpower for service abroad. John Winslow's attempts to raise provincial troops across New England for duty in Nova Scotia were obstructed by colonists living beyond the confines of Massachusetts Bay. Colonel John Winslow to Governor Thomas Fitch, April 12, 1755, in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 40 vols. (Halifax: The Society, 1878–1980), 4:122–23; George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts: A Study of Massachusetts-Nova Scotia Relations: 1630 to 1784* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 208–9.

41. Governor Robert H. Morris to Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie, August 19, 1756, in Hazard, *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st ser.), 2:391; Stegmaier, "Maryland's Fear of Insurrection," 467–83.

42. Thomas Ringgold to Edward Tilghman, September 23, 1756, MS. 2018, MdHS; Brigadier-General John Stanwix to the Earl of Loudoun, August 6, 1756, LO 1425, HEH; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, September 4, 1756, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, volume 8, 151, HSP. Although the Royal Americans were temporarily moved to Albany, New York between the months of August and November, 1756, elements of the regiment's first battalion were garrisoned in the southern theater of operations for the duration of the war. Alexander V. Campbell, "'Through So Many Hazards': A History of the First Battalion of the 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot, 1756–1763" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 1995), 32–46.

43. "Pennsylvania Servants," LO 3415, HEH. In addition to the data given above, it should be noted that seven (1.68 percent) entries list "Halifax" as the servants' destination and twenty names (4.81 percent) are identified only in conjunction with the surnames of the officers who recruited them.

44. Corbin Lee to Governor Horatio Sharpe, April 30, 1757, LO 3506, HEH. This incident took place after the September 1, 1756, deadline designated by the Maryland legislature. Lee expected full reimbursement for his servants but the recruiting parties could pay only £3, the

maximum amount of the enlistment bounty for each man, to him. Dissatisfied, Lee asserted his legal prerogative and sought redress through the courts.

45. *Maryland Gazette*, September 29, 1757, 3; "Recruiting Instructions to be Observed by all the Regiments in North America," November 1757, LO 1761, HEH. A year prior to these directions, Loudoun had stipulated to his recruiting parties that only servants whose contracts were about to expire were appropriate enlistment candidates. However, he did not mention the £3 ceiling in his instructions. "Recruiting Instructions," November 15, 1756, LO 2221, HEH.

46. *Maryland Gazette*, December 6, 1759, 4.

47. Maryland Census, 1755, MdHS.

48. *Maryland Gazette*, August 12, 1756, 3; BCCM, August 1755–November 1763, August Sessions, 1757, MSA; Aquila Hall Assessment Ledger, 1763–1764, 21, MS 1565, MdHS; Bill and Martha Reamy, eds., *St. George's Parish Register, 1689–1793* (Silver Spring, Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1988), v–vi.

Portfolio

"Our WASHINGTON Is No More!"

On December 14, 1799, George Washington died at his home, Mount Vernon, after a brief illness. The entire nation went into a period of profound mourning for the commander-in-chief and first president of the United States. In Maryland, news of Washington's death arrived in Annapolis on December 17, and the state government suspended all business. Governor Benjamin Ogle proclaimed that February 11, 1800, would be a day of statewide mourning. When President John Adams declared February 22, 1800, to be the national day of mourning, Governor Ogle moved Maryland's date to coincide with the national commemoration.

For two months after Washington's burial, in Maryland and the rest of the nation, Americans publicly expressed their grief in funeral processions and eulogies and purchased memorial prints and commemorative ceramics honoring the deceased. In the next forty yearshundreds of books about Washington or some aspect of his life appeared. Almost every citizen owned a picture of the country's first president. Americans universally revered Washington, giving his name to towns, counties, mountains, and bodies of water. They erected statues and monuments in his honor. Marylanders raised the first two monuments in the nation to the memory of the "Father of His Country." Construction began on Baltimore's Washington Monument in 1815, and workmen completed the column, capped with a statue of the general resigning his commission, on November 25, 1829. The citizens of Boonsboro erected a stone tower on the summit of South Mountain on July 4, 1827.

In the words of Thomas Johnson's eulogy, delivered in the German Reformed Church in Frederick on the national day of mourning, George Washington's "military exploits, his civil administration and his private virtues, are themes on which the world has delighted, and ingenuity been exhausted: but the praises of a nation, and their echo from distant climes have not inflated him. We have seen him the same man throughout: his country's good was his fixed goal: he has won the prize of never-fading fame."

Jennifer Bryan & Barbara Weeks

General Washington, by James Heath. Engraved in London in 1800 after the now famous portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart, copies of this work were exported to and widely advertised in the United States.

On Sunday, the 29th December, 1799, in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, of this city, the Reverend Richard Allen, of the African race, and minister in the said church, in his discourse to the people of color, took notice of the death of general Washington, that melancholy event, which clothes the American people with mourning—and he has been prevailed upon to admit the following sketch of his discourse to be published. It will shew that the African race participate in the common events of our country—that they can rejoice in our prosperity, mourn in our adversity, and feel with other citizens, the propriety and necessity of wise and good rulers, of an effective government, and of submission to the laws and government of the land.

AT this time it may not be improper to speak a little on the late mournful event—an event in which we participate in common with the feelings of a grateful people—an event which causes "the land to mourn" in a season of festivity. Our father & friend is taken from us—he whom the nations honored is "seen of men no more."

We, my friends, have peculiar cause to bemoan our loss. To us he has been the sympathising friend and tender father. He has watched over us, and viewed our degraded and afflicted state with compassion and pity—his heart was not insensible to our sufferings. He whose wisdom the nations revered thought we had a right to liberty. Unbiassed by the popular opinion of the state in which is the memorable Mount Vernon—he dared to do his duty, and wipe off the only stain with which man could ever reproach him.

And it is now said by an authority on which I rely, that he who ventured his life in battle, whose "head was covered" in that day, and whose shield the "Lord of hosts" was, did not fight for that liberty which he desired to withold from others—the bread of oppression was not sweet to his taste, and he "let the oppressed go free"—he "undid every burden"—he provided lands and comfortable accommodations for them when he kept this "acceptable fast to the Lord"—that those who had been slaves might rejoice in the day of their deliverance.

If he who broke the yoke of British burdens "from off the neck of the people" of this land, and was hailed his country's deliverer, by what name shall we call him who secretly and almost unknown emancipated his "bondwomen and bondmen"—became to them a father, and gave them an inheritance!

Deeds like these are not common. He did not let his "right hand know what his left hand did"—but he who "sees in secret will openly reward" such acts of beneficence.

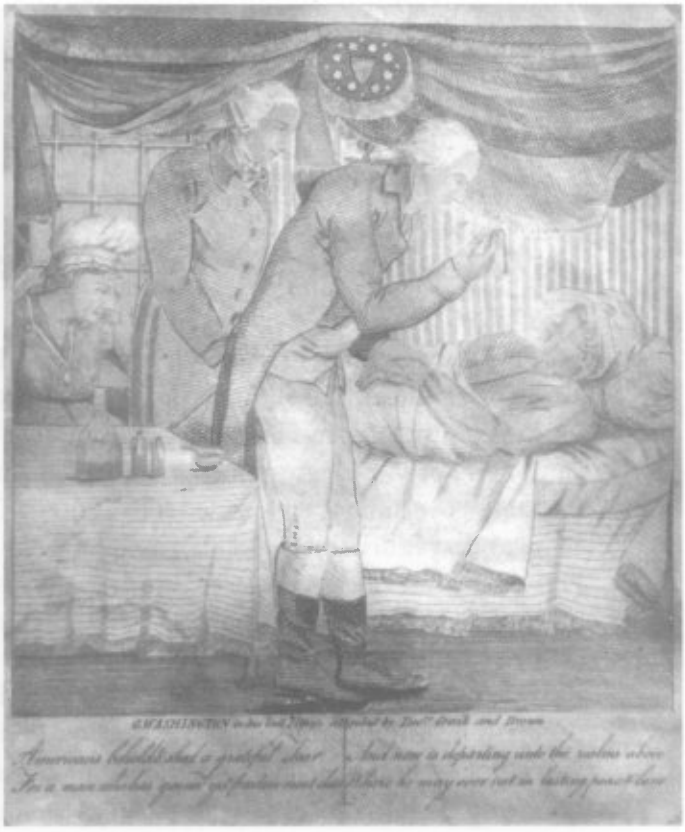
The name of WASHINGTON will live when the sculptured marble and statue of bronze shall be crumbled into dust—for it is the decree of the eternal God that "the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, but the memorial of the wicked shall rot."

It is not often necessary, and it is seldom that occasion requires recommending the observance of the laws of the land to you, but at this time it becomes a duty; for you cannot honor those who have loved you and been your benefactors more than by taking their council and advice.

And here let me intreat you always to bear in mind the affectionate farewell advice of the great Washington—"to love your country—to obey its laws—to seek its peace—and to keep yourselves from attachment to any foreign nation."

Your observance of these short and comprehensive expressions will make you good citizens—and greatly promote the cause of the oppressed and shew to the world that you hold dear the name of George Washington.

May a double portion of his spirit rest on all the officers of government in the United States, and all that say my Father, my Father—the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof, which is the whole of the American people.



Above: Washington died from quinsy, a throat infection. This print by an unidentified artist, depicts two of the three doctors, James Craik and Gustavus Richard Brown, at his bedside in the final hours. Present, too, were Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick and Martha Washington.

Left: In his will, Washington freed his slaves after his wife's death. On December 29, 1799, the Reverend Richard Allen, minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia remarked in his eulogy, "Unbiassed by the popular opinion of the state in which is the memorable Mount Vernon—he dared to do his duty and wipe off the only stains with which man could ever reproach him." (Printed in the Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser, *January 3, 1800.)*

Opposite: English-born artist Francis Guy excercised some license in this romantic representation of Washington's original tomb at Mount Vernon, which by 1804 contained the remains of Martha Washington as well. The Maryland shoreline appears in the background. Baltimoreans saw the painting when it was exhibited in Bryden's Coffee House on Light Street during the summer of 1804.

FEDERAL GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, January 2.

Grand Funeral Procession.

The first day of the New Century was chosen by the citizens of Baltimore to testify their respect for the memory of the illustrious WASHINGTON whose beloved and renowned fame shall survive the revolutions of time, and perish only with the last vestige of human recollection.

At sunrise the artillery at Fort M'Henry saluted with sixteen guns in quick succession, and continued firing each half hour until sunset. The vessels in the harbor hoisted colors at half mast, and the bells of the different churches of the city tolled through the day. A total suspension of business, and the general appearance of every sex, age and condition in mourning, presented their deep and universal sorrow for that loss which they were assembled to venerate and deplore.

At nine o'clock the military paraded in Baltimore street, to whom were attached the United States corps of artillerists and engineers, commanded by captain Morris, under the orders of lieut. Landais.

The bier was received on the right of the line formed in open ranks, with presented arms, the officers, bands and colors saluting, and moved to the left—minute guns firing at a distance.

When it reached the left of the line, the troops formed, wheeled in platoons and marched in the following order till their van had reached the public square at the west end of the city, (the place appointed for performing the funeral honors) the bands playing slow and solemn dirges—the bier, mourners, &c. following the rear of the military—

Capt. Bentalou's Troop.

In quarter ranks, swords drawn, standard in deep mourning, trumpeter playing a dead march.

(General Swan's indisposition, prevented his attendance.)

Capt. Shrim's Light Infantry,

Appointed to perform funeral honors, marching with arms reversed.

6th regiment, commanded by major Stodder,

Marching in platoons, in inverted order, with arms reversed, standards and music in mourning.

27th regiment, col. Tayler,

Marching in platoons, in inverted order, with arms reversed, standards and music in mourning—its band playing Dr. Boyce's dead march, Washington's march, &c.

39th regiment, col. Mosher,

Marching in platoons, in inverted order, with arms reversed, standards and music in mourning.

5th regiment, commanded by major Mackenheimer, colonel Stricker being appointed commanding officer of the day.

Marching in platoons, in inverted order, with arms reversed, standards and music in mourning—its band playing the dead march in Saul, &c.

United States corps of Artillerists and Engineers.

With arms reversed and music in mourning.

Capt. Barry's Troop.

Swords drawn, standard in mourning.

Capt. Biays's Troop.

Swords drawn, standard in mourning.

Capt. Hollingsworth's Troop.

Swords drawn, standard in mourning.

Staff of the Brigade.

The general's HORSE.

White, with saddle, holsters and pistols, led by a private of the corps of artillerists and engineers.

BIER.

Supported by four sergeants of the corps of artillerists and engineers.

Pall Bearers.

Col. Rogers — Capt. Morris

Bankson — Capt. Kilty

Ramsay — Gen. Smith

Pall Bearers.

The rev. CLERGY of the city.

With white scarfs and bands, and black crape roses.

Marshalls men, with white staves encircled with crape.

The order of Cincinnati.

The Marshall of the district in deep mourning, with a wand covered with crape.

Judiciary of the United States.

The State Judiciary.

The Bar, two and two, in deep mourning.

The Collector of the customs and the surveyor of the port of Baltimore in deep mourning.

Marshalls men, with white staves encircled with crape.

[The Mayor's severe indisposition prevented his joining the procession.]

City Constables, with white staves encircled with crape.

President of the second branch of city council, & Register.

Members of the second branch of the city council four and four.

President of the first branch of city council.

Members of the first branch of the city council four and four,

Clerks of the two branches.

Door keepers of the branches.

Citizens 6 abreast.

City Constables, with white staves encircled with crape.

When the van of the military reached the public square, the procession halted, the troops formed in line with opened ranks, resting on their arms reversed, and the procession following the bier passed the way to the square.

When the bier had arrived at the public square, a most elegant and affecting address was delivered by the reverend [illegible], in nearly the following words:

TO-day, my sorrowful friends, is the great debt every one by nature owes, and which he must one time or other undoubtedly pay. Among them that are born of women, an exception will not be found. Here the great and the small, the rich and the poor, stand on the same level. No exemption can be pleaded, whatever ransom is proposed. The silver cord must be loosed, the golden bowl must be broken in every instance. Prayers and supplications, tears and intreaties, will not stay the spoiler's hand, or disarm his insatiate rage. Could the prayers and intreaties of an imploring nation have prevailed, he would not have sheathed his arrow in the pride of our strength, and precipitated the present sad solemnity. O Death, how rich thy victim! how savage the violence of thy triumph, in rending from our wounded hearts their fondest earthly hope! The glory is departed—Washington is gone! United America hears the doleful knell, and bewails the loss in all her borders. And was among the Hebrews of old, when all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah, so is it now—it is more, the lamentation is reverberated from every distant shore to which the melancholy tidings extend. Washington is gone!—Ah, fatal night in which he fell! Let darkness seize upon it —Let it not be joined unto the days of the year—Let it not come into the number of the months. Lo, let that night be solitary—Let no joyful voice come near it. Such are the effusions of inconsolable grief, in the first transports of passionable excess—but returning reflection moderates the extreme, and distinguishes its continuance. The unchangeable decree of Heaven is, that there shall be no discharge in this war, and surely none may arraign the high authority. The author of life is likewise the finisher, and shall we say to him—What hast thou done, or why hast thou done this? No. Notwithstanding the anguish of our souls, we bend in submission to the sovereign pleasure of God, who will always perform what is right. We thank him devoutly for having raised up among us this singular man—a benefit to mankind in general—a precious blessing to the people of our own land in particular. We say, the will of the Lord be done—when he removes his mighty spirit to another state, even when he lays the desire of our eyes in the grave, and blends the mortal part with common clay. Hard to tell, irreparable catastrophe, we confess! "When the ear heard him, then it blessed him—When the eye saw him, then it gave witness to him." Now his noble and majestic frame is dissolving in union with kindred dust. He hears not the sighs and groans of his bereaved country, whose lamentations lay so near his heart. To him the voice of Fame's sweet trumpet sounds in vain. Yet he has heard its loud and pleasing notes reiterated on a thousand occasions, and it shall be tuned to his praise through every revolving age—but further, the sleeping dust shall awake, for they that are in their graves shall hear the voice of the Son of Man, and shall come forth—O, Death! I will be thy plagues. O, Grave, I will be thy destruction. Repentance shall be hid from mine eyes.—Do any of you yet demand why was he taken away—Rather ask, why was he given and continued so long?—the answer will prescribe the considerations proper to be entertained. No period can be mentioned in the long lapse of recorded time, wherein the magnitude of the crisis was so admirably combined with an assemblage of rare and valuable talents demanded by it, which shone in him through the successive stages of a splendid life. Recommended to marked attention in private walks by a most dignified conduct, public honors gradually crowded round him, till he rose to the highest his country could bestow, and he wore them with distinguished applause.— View him in the several characters of legislator and leader, of statesman and warrior —Behold him guiding the complicated operations of a victorious army, conducting the civil administration of a powerful nation, descending voluntarily from the most elevated sphere to beloved retirement, and afterwards promptly submitting to an inferior station with patriotic humility.— Contemplate him in these different and diversified relations—proclaim him great in all.

But I travel beyond my present limits—neither the season nor the place, nor the circumstances permit me to eulogize.— I mean not here to detail his services and to delineate his virtues, for which a particular day is appointed, and to which the arduous attempt is properly assigned— I only add, what my intention is to repeat then—Should a remembrance of our grand national transactions reach an approaching world, and reflections on them have in its exalted employments—their services and their virtues, now consigned to the perishable records of time, will furnish the last theme, and live in the annals of eternity.

Captain Shrim's company of light infantry then fired twice and with a precision that was never exceeded.

The procession, with the military, after this returned through Fayette and Howard streets, and down Baltimore street, until the right of the military reached Christ church, when they halted, formed in line with open ranks and arms reversed, and the bier (with the procession following it) passed through to the church, where it was deposited and a funeral service adapted with great propriety to the mournful occasion, was performed by the reverend Mr. BEND, as follows:

The bier was introduced into the church with the following scripture sentences [illegible] "I am the resurrection and the life [illegible] that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

A mournful air was then played on the organ, after which an anthem selected from the 39th and 90th psalms was read, and a lesson, taken from 1 Cor. xv. v. 20.

The lesson being concluded, the following hymn was sung by several gentlemen, accompanied by the organ:

1 HEAR, what the Voice from Heav'n declares
For those in Christ who die!
"Releas'd from all their earthly Cares,
"They reign with him on high."

2 Then, why lament departed Friends,
Or shake at Death's Alarms?
Death's but the Servant Jesus sends
To call us to his Arms.

3 If sin be pardon'd, we're secure,
Death hath no Sting beside;
The Law gave Sin its Strength and Pow'r;
But Christ, our Ransom, died!

4 The Graves of all his Saints he bless'd,
When in the Grave he lay;
And rising thence their Hopes he rais'd
To everlasting Day!

5 Then, joyfully, while Life we have,
To Christ, our Life, we'll sing—
"Where is thy Victory, O Grave!
"And where, O Death, thy Sting?

After the hymn, the following prayers were addressed to the throne of grace:

ALMIGHTY GOD, who hast stamped the greatest uncertainty on the duration of the human existence, excepting not from thy decree the most virtuous and valuable of the children of men, grant to us consolation and support under all the adverse and sorrowful dispensations of thy providence. We confess our manifold sins and transgressions committed against thee; yet, O Lord God most holy, O God most mighty, who, for these our sins, art justly displeased, blot them for ever out of the records of heaven, and deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death. While we mourn the dissolution of those whom we love, enable us to cherish the hope of rejoining them in the regions of bliss; and graciously grant, that, in our last hour, no pains of death may cause us to swerve from thee; but that we may be able to welcome our dissolution, as the passage to thy glorious and blessed presence. Grant this, O Father, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen.

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of those, who depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity: we give thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labors—and we particularly praise and magnify thy holy name, for the very illustrious and edifying example, afforded us in the life and actions of thy deceased servant, for whose loss we this day solemnly testify our deep and heartfelt sorrow. Grant, merciful father, that his bright virtues, his memorable deeds and important services, may live in the hearts and minds of all the inhabitants of our land, and of their latest and most remote posterity. May they always remember with affectionate gratitude the great civil and political blessings which thou hast conferred upon them through him, thy chosen instrument, and may each strive, as far as opportunity may be presented him, to imitate his glorious and admirable conduct. Give to us all courage to brave, like him, the most grievous fatigues, the most distressful hardships, the most imminent perils, and even death itself, when our beloved country may require our exertions; and let neither menaces terrify, nor promises seduce us from the discharge of our duty. Like him may all relinquish, with generous promptitude, the most beloved scenes of domestic enjoyment, when called to discharge a public function; and he, who hath filled the highest station to which his country can raise him, cheerfully consent to act in a subordinate capacity. Like him may statesmen discern with wisdom the true interests of the people, and with unyielding firmness, pursue it, and magistrates exercise their authority for the protection and benefit of those committed to their care for the true and impartial administration of justice, for the punishment of wickedness and vice, for the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. And may all of us, whatever may be the character or relation which we may sustain, strive to emulate his excellent qualities— and we beseech thee, O Lord, that we, with our deceased friend and benefactor, and all others, who are departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.— Amen.

Most merciful God, who hast, in thy deep and unsearchable wisdom, grievously afflicted our country, in removing from it its most valuable and beloved citizen, and at a time, when his long tried talents and invaluable services were again necessary to thy people, we acknowledge the justice of thy mournful dispensation, as far as it affects our national interests. But, O lord, in the midst of judgement, remember mercy. Suffer us not to become a prey to those, who wish us evil; but so direct their councils, and dispose their hearts that they may sincerely endeavor to cultivate towards us the relations of amity and peace. Unite in the bonds of harmony all the inhabitants of the land; and may their principal contest be, who shall most promote the good of their country! Fire their hearts with a disinterested love for her, and heroic firmness in her cause, [illegible] thou [illegible] and to [illegible]. Bless with thy favor thy servant the President of the United States, both the houses of Congress, and all others vested with authority, replenish them with the grace of thy holy spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way. Grant them in health and prosperity long to live; may all things be so ordered and settled, by their endeavors, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations! In this manner alleviate to us, O Lord, the irreparable loss which we have sustained, and to thy name be the glory and praise for ever, through Jesus Christ thy son.— Amen.

O merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life, and who hath taught us by his holy apostle St. Paul, not to be sorry, as men without hope, for those who sleep in him, we praise and adore thy name for the comfort, which, under our great national loss, we are enabled to draw from the character of the departed father of his country, and friend of mankind. May we all, while we drop the tear and heave the sigh of sorrow, call to mind the great share of bliss which he enjoyed below, the universal esteem and affection which were his portion, the exemplary tenor of his life, the shortness of his last sufferings, and the glory and felicity, to the fruition of which he hath been translated, and may the power of thy grace triumph over the weakness of our nature, and our sorrow for our own loss be swallowed up of spiritual joy, for his final triumph and exaltation. Be particularly gracious unto his venerable relict, late the partner of his joys and cares— Surely, O Lord, hast thou afflicted her; but grant that she may not, on this trying occasion, be forsaken by the consolations of that blessed religion, which she so ardently adorns, but may enjoy them in a high degree. Preserve her from evil, spiritual and temporal; crown her with thy loving kindness; and when the great and solemn hour shall come, and wing her upward flight to other worlds, grant her, O Father, to behold with him the light of thy reconciled countenance. And may all present be found in the last day, acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing, which thy well beloved Son shall then pronounce to all who love & fear thee, saying, Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. These things we beg for Jesus Christ's sake, our Mediator and Redeemer.

The minister then pronounced the following passages of scripture: "I heard a voice from Heaven, saying unto me, write from henceforth blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: Even so, saith the spirit, for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen."

The ceremonies being concluded, the bier was taken out of the church, amidst solemn music, performed upon the organ accompanied by the 5th regiment's band, when captain Shrim's company of light infantry performed the last military honors, by firing over it with their accustomed accuracy.

After which the military marched to their respective rendezvous grounds and dismissed.

The citizens assembled then retired to their respective homes.

During the whole time of the procession, captain Brown's company of artillery, formed at the head of Baltimore street, fired minute guns.

The appearance of the military did them great honor, and it is to be regretted that the necessary arrangements prevented them from going into the church. It is supposed there were at the least 1400 hundred men under arms. There were near five thousand in the procession; and it is probable there appeared in Baltimore-street, at one time, not less than twenty thousand souls. A number of gentlemen from the county and distant parts of the state attended and joined in the procession, anxious to express their veneration for him, who once great and good, is now no more—"the man of the age"—"the first in war, the first in peace, and the first in the hearts of his country."

We promised to give an extra sheet yesterday morning—It was hoped we heard of a late arrival at Philadelphia, and expected news of moment—none came by it —we thought it unnecessary to trouble our readers with an uninteresting sheet, and beg to be excused by them for the disappointment.

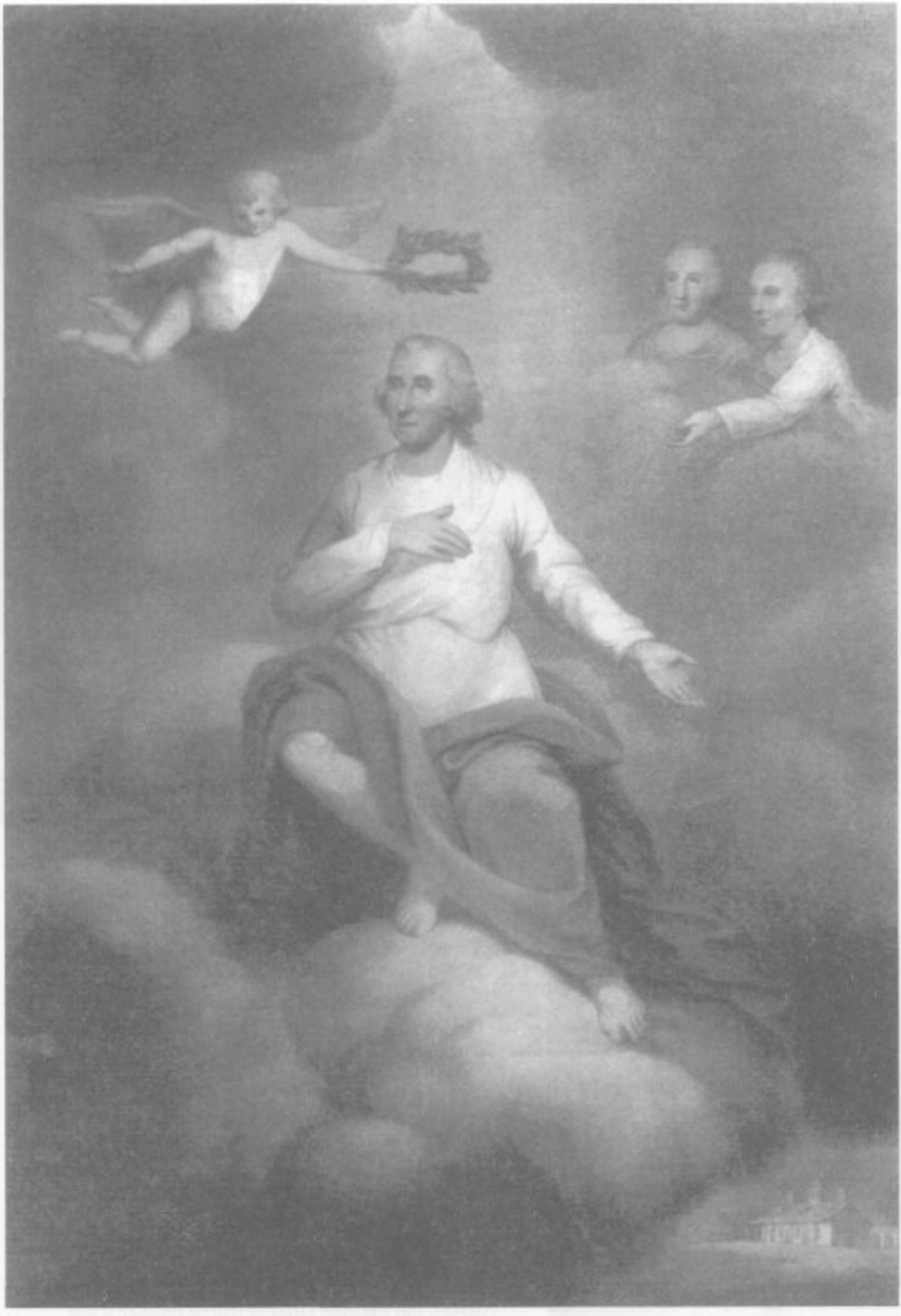
An account of the Flour inspected in the city of Baltimore, for the last quarter, ending 31st December, 1799, as returned to the Mayor by the inspectors, viz.

83,316 whole barrels
5,860 half barrels

By order. *R. H. Moale, Reg.*

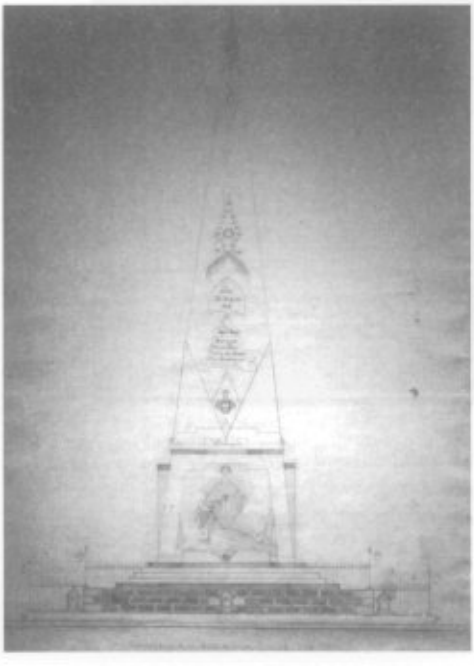
Extract of a letter from London, dated October 21, '99.

"This country will suffer exceedingly from the badness of its corn harvest, which has been very much injured by the rains that have continued without intermission for the last two months. It is apprehended that no considerable succor can be obtained from



Above: In 1800, Samuel Kennedy of Philadelphia published this hand-colored engraving, "Apotheosis of Washington," by David Edwin after a painting by Rembrandt Peale. On Washington's left and welcoming the hero into Heaven, are Generals Joseph Warren and Richard Montgomery, killed during the Revolutionary War.

Opposite: Account of the mock funeral procession in Baltimore, January 1, 1800, published in the Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser.

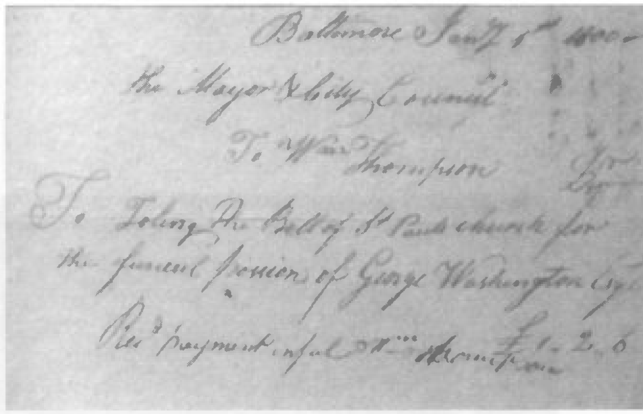


Above: The large German population in Baltimore and western Maryland provided a market for German-language lithographs such as "Washington's Denkmal, Das Grabmal Washingtons," engraved by Albert Henry Payne in Leipzig, ca. 1838.

Left: An unknown artist submitted this pencil design to the 1813 competition for the design of the Washington Monument in Baltimore. Decorating the obelisk are the Liberty Cap, the emblem for the Order of the Cincinnati, willow branches to represent mourning, and mourning phrases. The artist intended the monument to be placed on Calvert Street, but because citizens feared placing a tall monument in a populated area of the city, they placed it on a country site on what is now Charles Street.

Right: A receipt for the mock funeral procession in Baltimore, January 1, 1800.

Below: Benjamin O. Tyler, a professor of penmanship in New York, wrote and designed this memorial print whose stipple engraving of Washington is based on Gilbert Stuart's portraits.



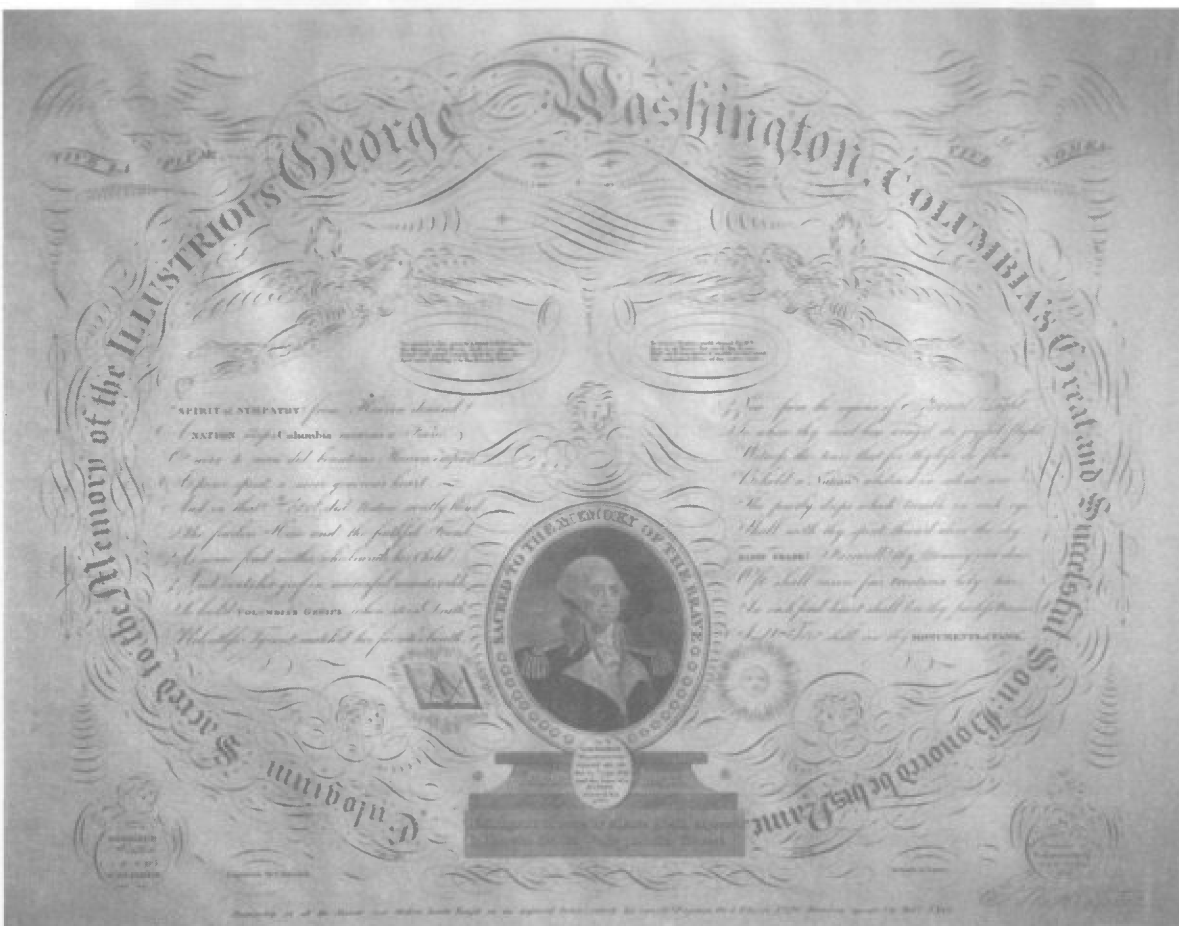
Baltimore Jany 1st 1800

the Mayor & City Council

To Wm Thompson Dr

To Toling the Bell of St Pauls church for the funeral procession of George Washington [illegible]

Recd payment in full Wm Thompson £1-2-6



*Students from Morgan College arrested in 1963 for demonstrating against segregation at the Northwood Theatre in Baltimore. (*Baltimore News-American *photograph. University of Maryland, College Park.)*

Student Involvement in the Baltimore Civil Rights Movement, 1953–63

ROBERT M. PALUMBOS

Historians have constructed a wide body of literature on the American civil rights movement and student radicalism more generally. Although this research provides a full view of the movement on a national level, with special emphasis on a small number of places, there is still much work left to be done in understanding its structure, effectiveness, and internal dynamics on a local, grass-roots scale. Civil rights case studies are currently available for cities like Greensboro, North Carolina, and other sites in the Deep South. Baltimore, however, is among the cities about which there has been no thorough study. It remains a valuable source of relatively untapped information about the movement.

An examination of student activism in Baltimore serves a number of purposes. First, it offers a partial corrective to the most widely accepted narrative of the civil rights movement. Second, the city's geographic location and particular configuration of institutions for both blacks and whites highlight the significance of local factors in the movement's history. Third, it helps us weigh the importance of political, institutional, social, and demographic influences in shaping student activism.

A possible reason that Baltimore is under studied is that it does not fit comfortably within the most common larger narratives of the civil rights movement, which either place Martin Luther King at its center or focus on especially active groups and major sites of conflict. Baltimore's story is too incremental, partial, and extended to fit with the triumphalist narrative of struggle, suffering, and success. Historian John Ditmer recently argued that scholars have neglected to examine civil rights work in Mississippi because it too does not correspond to the traditional mold for the movement. Whereas in Baltimore notable progress occurred over a long period of time, the movement in Mississippi had very little success even into the late 1960s. Together, these sites represent contrasting extremes, neither of which fits into the classic story.[1]

Baltimore was unique in several ways. It is not a city of the Deep South but was both northern and southern at once, a fact that greatly influenced the path of civil rights in the area. Baltimore maintained legalized segregation until the passage of the 1964 Public Accommodations Act and was at times extremely resistant to changes in the racial power structure. Defenders of segregation often claimed that

Mr. Palumbos, a recent graduate of the Johns Hopkins University, was co-winner of the 1999 Undergraduate Essay Prize.

white prejudice in the area prevented integration, a typically southern argument. At the same time, Baltimore provided very little in the way of dramatic, highly visible reaction against the movement because its political leadership and general attitude was far less conservative than in the Deep South. Like southern cities, Baltimore had a large, well established African-American population, but it also experienced an influx of black immigration from the South, as did other northern cities. The presence of these opposing forces yielded a local movement different from those of the South, and one not fully explained by current literature.

Just as Baltimore's civil rights struggle did not fit the common story-line for the movement, student radicalism in the area also differs from the traditional narrative. Unlike Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and other places, students in Baltimore did not provide the original spark for civil rights activism around which the local community became energized. The NAACP and *Afro-American* were two institutions in the city's black communities that had already laid much of the groundwork for social change, beginning in the 1930s. African-American students from Morgan State College began to organize and participate in civil rights protests in the early 1950s, well before the highly publicized southern student sit-ins of 1960. Theirs was a struggle that extended for more than a decade, punctuated with victories that seemingly always led to more challenges.

In addition, Baltimore was notable in that no one school stood out as the city's intellectual or social focal point. In contrast to a place like Berkeley or Madison, where one university was the dominant institution, in Baltimore the Johns Hopkins University, Morgan State College, Goucher College, Towson State, Loyola, Notre Dame of Maryland, and the University of Baltimore shared the social and intellectual role. This led to greater fragmentation in local student radicalism, the effects of which varied considerably over time. Fragmentation fostered both productive competition and crippling divisiveness; it made periods of collaboration between students from different schools quite significant and revealing.

Fragmentation is always difficult to describe, a problem exacerbated in this instance because the data are as fragmented as the story. The players in student activism were ever-changing and, in contrast to professional civil rights organizations, student groups are unlikely to leave reliable evidence. Despite this, patterns existed between 1953 and 1963. After the latter date, student activism took another turn with the rise of black nationalism and the emergence of the Vietnam War as the focus of white student radicals. Morgan State College, Johns Hopkins, and Goucher became the main sites of student activism during this period. Towson State, Loyola, and Notre Dame of Maryland lagged behind the other schools, showing almost no involvement in the movement at all until the rise of Vietnam protests in the mid-1960s.

Although fragmented in many respects, student activism in Baltimore had

common roots reaching back into the nineteenth century. The area contained one of the largest communities of African Americans in the nation. In 1860, Maryland accounted for about one-fifth of the free blacks in the United States; Baltimore City alone boasted twenty-six thousand. The city's African-American communities continued to grow, and by World War II its 194,000 black residents represented about one-fourth of the city's population.[2] During this time, while whites maintained segregation, Baltimore's black community established a strong set of social and cultural institutions. Prominent among them was a Negro YMCA on Druid Hill Avenue, a Colored Symphony Orchestra, a black theater group and the Royal Theater in Old West Baltimore. Though African-American educational institutions suffered neglect in comparison to those of whites, Baltimore was able to offer a relatively strong education to its black citizens. Baltimore had more black teachers than any other city in the country and boasted Thurgood Marshall, Cab Calloway, U.S. Congressman Parren Mitchell, and State Senator Verda Welcome among its high school graduates.[3]

Baltimore's African-American community was also unique because of its history of activism. In the late 1800s the community rallied because of labor disputes with immigrants who were competing for jobs. Scholars have noted the importance of the Depression on the growth of black activism in Baltimore, arguing that the acute social and economic conditions of the 1930s opened an opportunity for change. Religious leaders and secular luminaries from the African-American community organized the "Buy Where You Can Work" boycott and protest campaign between September 1933 and June 1934. The drive resulted in significant changes in the hiring practices of white-owned businesses in black communities, ranging from small five-and-dime stores to national chains such as A&P markets.[4]

Building on this effort, Baltimore's African-American leaders constructed a network of civil rights activists that became the foundation for challenges to racial segregation and discrimination over the next several decades. The coalition included the city's strong NAACP chapter, the City Wide Young People's Forum, the *Afro-American* newspapers, and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance (IMA). Together they were able to cultivate activism in both secular and religious African-American communities. They organized anti-lynching protests, pickets at theaters, legal challenges to segregation at the University of Maryland, petitions for fair hiring practices in the police department, and further boycotting. The combined strength of all the organizations granted them far more influence than if they had been acting alone. Early involvement of African Americans in social activism provided Baltimore with the tools, experience, and institutional framework for the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s.[5]

Hopkins graduate and activist Kim Moody noted that by the late 1950s, "the Baltimore movement was divided into three main parts, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance (IMA), the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality

(CORE), and the Civic Interest Group (CIG)." These three strains, along with the NAACP, represent the shape of national activism as well. The IMA reflected religious involvement. CORE represented the presence of black and white secular radicals in the movement. The organization had been founded in Chicago in 1942 on the basic principles of nonviolent, interracial action and became a critical component of local and national civil rights work.[6] Student activists in CIG were the final piece in the picture. On this general level, Baltimore civil rights organizations fairly reflected the structure of the national movement.

Local civil rights groups, like national organizations, were both separate entities with distinct goals and resources, and mutually supportive. By the 1950s the NAACP focused primarily on legal and political advancement for African Americans but also provided some aid to local direct action groups. Ministers rallied assistance from African-American churches and used this support to organize their own activism and to aid other protest groups. The local chapter of CORE and CIG used protests and civil disobedience in integration demonstrations. These two organizations had very different connections beyond Baltimore. CORE utilized the resources of the National CORE, while CIG depended on connections to other student groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Northern Student Movement (NSM), and the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG). CORE and CIG bolstered each other's efforts, sometimes with bodies on the picket lines and other times by planning joint strategy. Competition between the groups, however, existed side by side with collaboration. Like the national civil rights scene, the Baltimore movement quickly developed complex internal dynamics.

Because Baltimore's college students were divided among several colleges and universities, organizations that bridged the campuses were especially important. The Civic Interest Group stood out because it managed to unite student activists from different colleges throughout the civil rights movement. Led almost entirely by African-American Morgan State College students, CIG drew students from other schools, such as whites from Hopkins and Goucher, and from the city's community of concerned citizens. The group was able to operate successfully with a heterogeneous membership, connecting students of different backgrounds and philosophies.

The Civic Interest Group was a highly effective organization that broke ground for the local, and perhaps even the national, civil rights movement. Its direct action strategies predated the 1955 boycott in Montgomery; its first victory using sit-ins marked only the second time that students had fulfilled desegregation goals with this technique in the United States. As the movement developed, CIG began focusing on activities like voter registration, housing and labor issues before national groups such as SNCC. CIG's example encouraged other groups to begin work on such issues.[7]

The Civic Interest Group grew out of a tradition of student activism at Morgan State College. In February 1948 two Morgan students were arrested while picketing the Ford Theater in downtown Baltimore. The NAACP had sponsored

demonstrations for over a year to protest the theater's Jim Crow seating arrangements. Police arrested the students for illegally hindering entrance to the theater through aggressive picketing; Baltimore's NAACP branch offered legal assistance. Thus, more than a decade before student involvement began to escalate nationwide, students in Baltimore had joined the struggle for civil rights. The presence of the NAACP facilitated their entrance into activism.[8]

According to the *Baltimore Afro-American*, when the local chapter of CORE first organized, it consisted of "labor representatives, Morgan College staff members and members of the student body, Hopkins University staff members and members of its student body." The impetus behind its initial formation was a white Hopkins psychiatrist named Herbert Kelman, a pacifist who recruited support from a broad spectrum of people.[9] Shortly after organizing in January 1953, CORE members began protests at the Northwood Shopping Center near the Morgan State campus and at the downtown shopping district.[10] Students from the chapter protested mainly at Northwood because of its immediate impact on campus life; the middle-class adults from the chapter focused their efforts primarily on the downtown demonstrations. Even in its infancy therefore, an important trend appeared in the local direct action movement. Although students and adults worked together with similar strategies, they were also separated from each other, first by geographic interests, later by their rivalry, and finally by differences in ideology.

CORE targeted lunch counters during this initial effort. Interracial teams of CORE members tested counters to confirm the existence of racially discriminatory policies. To businesses that discriminated, the organization sent letters of protest. If this had no effect, CORE members passed out leaflets to customers that discouraged them from supporting the business. Finally, CORE applied more significant pressure by beginning sit-ins and pickets at establishments that refused to change their policies.[11]

In January 1953, CORE tested three lunch counters and was denied access at all of them. One of the counters was in the downtown Kresge's. The group sent its letter of protest to Kresge's manager, who forwarded it on to the national office. Kresge's national management quickly replied to CORE, saying that it had no knowledge of discriminatory policies at that store and encouraging the group to test it again. To their surprise, when CORE activists revisited the lunch counter, they were indeed served. It was a victory for CORE, both symbolic and real. The incident put CORE on the map of local civil rights activism. In reporting the story, the *Afro-American* described CORE as a previously "little known civil rights organization."[12] The group used the letter from Kresge's to pressure other chains in downtown Baltimore to integrate their lunch counters. Though some stores, including Woolworth's, integrated almost immediately, CORE continued to the point of sit-ins at McCrory's and Grant's to force them to desegregate. McCrory's integrated in October 1953, Grant's in April 1954.[13]

Although CORE applied pressure downtown, students from Morgan State

remained concerned primarily with the status of the Northwood Shopping Center. Students in CORE contacted the manager of the Northwood Kresge's branch, which had not integrated, and requested the opportunity to negotiate for desegregation. By the summer of 1953, Kresge's national management again wrote to CORE and said that the restaurant would serve all customers. Morgan students affiliated with CORE but working out of the Student Government's social Action Committees also organized consistent sit-ins at Read's drugstore at Northwood. Members held weekly sit-ins of more than thirty students at once. After CORE's 1954 victory at Grant's, its adult leadership entered into negotiations with the Read's management. McQuay Kiah, the Dean of Men at Morgan, helped to head the talks. In January 1955, Read's announced that it would end its prohibition of service to African Americans. The dual pressure of sit-ins and serious negotiations proved to be an effective combination.[14]

Collaboration between Morgan students and adults in CORE reached a high point with the integration at Read's. By that time the groups had already revealed separate interests. The students focused on desegregating the area near the campus; the adults were primarily concerned with the status of downtown businesses. In addition, Vernon Horn reported in his 1991 master's thesis, *Integrating Baltimore,* that CORE's leadership changed at this time as well. CORE took a new direction, announcing that it would begin to focus on integrating some of Baltimore's higher quality restaurants. Students, on the other hand, had to look no farther than down the street to find their targets. The victory at Read's completed the separation between CORE adults and Morgan State student activists. This initial divorce of activist energy in the city proved to be significant in shaping the Baltimore civil rights movement in the years to come. Some of the generational and organizational tensions found at this early stage of the movement reappeared later, and indeed the two groups were never fully able to resolve problems that divided them.[15]

The first set of protests Morgan State students organized independently were directed at the Northwood movie theater. Beginning in the spring of 1955, these demonstrations are significant for several reasons. First, they reveal much about the development of Morgan student thinking about direct action. These efforts also predated many of the high profile moments of the civil rights movement, such as the Montgomery bus boycott and the Greensboro sit-ins. Consequently, the form they took underscores the impact on students of other local activists, rather than nationally publicized events.

Historically the neighborhood around Morgan State College had never welcomed its predominantly African-American student body. When the college originally moved onto its current campus in 1917, whites mounted organized resistance. In addition to scare tactics such as hate mail, they used legal challenges in the courts in an attempt to block the move into the neighborhood. Morgan College faculty repelled such attacks and officially opened the new campus in 1918.

The neighborhood remained overwhelmingly white as the college grew over the next four decades, and most local public accommodations were segregated.[16]

The Northwood Theatre's owners opposed integration on the grounds that it would significantly disrupt their business. Whites from the neighborhood would not attend an integrated movie theater, and desegregation spelled financial doom. Vernon Horn noted that there was some basis to this claim. In addition to the history of conservatism in the neighborhood on racial issues, "two local, white organizations actively petitioned the [Governors Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations] against integration in the theater."[17]

Despite resistance from whites, Morgan students began recruiting for pickets at the theater at the end of April 1955. Still working out of the Student Government's Social Action Committee, leaders primarily looked to organize other African Americans in the school, but they also recruited support from off-campus students. The committee notified the *Johns Hopkins Newsletter* of the upcoming protests and asked the Hopkins student body for support. A *Newsletter* reporter later described the first protests on Friday, April 29, 1955, in the campus paper. He noted the attitude of discipline and quiet optimism among the protesters and quoted one Morgan student as saying, "We're served in two drug stores near here now and soon we'll be able to buy tickets at the Northwood Theater."[18]

On the night of the first protest, between 100 and 125 students, including a small group from Hopkins, attempted to gain access to the early showing of "Untamed." An integrated couple, consisting of a Hopkins man and Morgan State woman, was the first to attempt to purchase a ticket. The manager quickly made its segregation policy clear to the students. The group left but returned to buy tickets for the second screening. This time the manager ceased ticket sales all together. The demonstrators basked in the success of their first attack on the theater. One said that "the psychological advantage, our only real weapon, is ours."[19]

The owners quickly recognized the possibility that protests might hurt business and the next day agreed to attend a meeting with the Social Action Committee, the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, and the Baltimore City Commission on Human Relations. The students in turn opted to halt protests until the meeting. Immediately after student leaders reached this decision, however, the theater owners reneged on their commitment, canceled the meeting, and refused to consider changing their policy. On Tuesday, May 3, the Social Action Committee responded with an even larger protest. This time fifty Hopkins men joined more than 250 Morgan State students. The manager quickly closed the outdoor ticket window and sold admission in the lobby while screening patrons at the door. Denied access to a ticket vendor, the students quietly picketed outside instead.[20]

Though involvement was limited, the presence of members of the Hopkins student body at these protests began what would be an ongoing collaboration

with Morgan activists in very much this form. Morgan students identified and organized demonstrations, and Hopkins students appeared and gave their support. Their involvement was especially helpful at times because it dramatized the effects of segregation. At the April 29 protest, the leaders found it advantageous to send an integrated couple to the ticket booth. They also consciously staggered the line with Hopkins students throughout.[21]

Outside observers took note of the white student protesters. The *Afro-American* was sure to mention white student involvement in its articles. Local whites and police soon began to harass the Hopkins men in particular. The police pulled several students out of the picket line and asked for their names and addresses. On May 21, 1955, the *Afro-American* reported that "all of the persons taken out of the line were either from Hopkins or were Morgan students of very light complexion." Robert Watts, attorney for the students, pressed the police to maintain a "neutral stand" at the demonstrations. About a week later Sherman Merrill, a Hopkins graduate student, was arrested by a plainclothes police officer while protesting. Merrill had resisted the officer's request that he step out of the picket line for a moment, and some minor shoving occurred. He was the only white person present.[22]

Clarence Logan, a Morgan State graduate and director of CIG from December 1960 to January 1964, recalled the presence of Hopkins students, the majority of whom were white, in the local movement. In his personal notes, he lists Tony Adona as one of the white students from Hopkins who participated in Morgan-run demonstrations. He was a sophomore in 1955 when he protested at the Northwood Shopping Center and remained involved over the next five years while a law student at the University of Maryland. Logan called Adona "CIG's conscience—unselfish, dedicated and always protective of young activists."[23] As Morgan College students forged a path for student activism, some Johns Hopkins students followed closely behind.

At future protests students encountered more active resistance from theater management. Northwood's owners continued to refuse to meet with the students or with the supporting human relations committees. Furthermore, management and employees began to harass the protesters, taunting them while they picketed. Demonstrations continued throughout May 1955, but it was increasingly difficult to maintain the support that the Social Action Committee had initially built when it became apparent that the theater would not easily capitulate. The numbers of students picketing from Morgan State and Hopkins declined during the course of the month.[24]

Theater manager John Wyatt publicly suggested that pressure be put on the Morgan administration to rein in its students. According to the *Afro-American*, a Morgan State spokesman initially "responded with something akin to amusement and pointed out that Morgan students were not the only ones involved in the peaceful demonstrations."[25] One of the most prominent leaders of the protest, Douglas Sands, was concurrently serving as student council president-elect. Sands

circulated a letter in the Northwood area seeking support for the protests. He said the goal of the students was more than integrating Northwood alone. Their true aim was the full participation in "the democratic heritage" of the nation.[26] Wyatt's statement, though originally dismissed by the Morgan administration, pointed to the vulnerability of the institution, and Sands's letter only aggravated the concern. The school was state funded and, as such, was to some extent at the mercy of political will. Moreover, since the Social Action Committee was subsumed under the Morgan State Student Government Association, the students, and Sands in particular, were truly representatives of the student body and the entire college.

Morgan State president Martin D. Jenkins spoke with Sands personally to express his concern with the situation. Although he supported the group's intentions, he was also worried about possible repercussions—continued protests might harden the opinions of politicians against the college. Having made Sands aware of the pressure he felt, Jenkins then made a public statement to the effect that the community should consider the students and their actions as separate from the school. He left the Social Action Committee to take whatever action it felt was most appropriate.[27]

Student leaders quickly recognized they were now in an awkward situation. The close connections between the protesting students and Morgan State potentially compromised the needs of the college. They also limited student autonomy in the future. Consequently, Sands and his colleagues decided to break off from the Social Action Committee and form a new group unaffiliated directly with the school. This organization, the Civic Interest Group (CIG), became the primary organizational vehicle for Morgan State civil rights activists for nearly a decade. It was by far the most effective social activist student group in the Baltimore area, and continued to attract concerned students from other schools as well.

This first movement away from the college's control is just one instance of a reaction to tensions between adults and students. Its effects, however, were not necessarily negative. The move left Morgan State less vulnerable and gave the students more freedom. As with the split from the adults in CORE, the students found that their particular interests were better addressed independent of adult control. The same pattern would be repeated later in students' relationships to the college and to other adult activists.

The protests of spring 1955 at the Northwood Theatre had no clean resolution. That ending would not come for another eight years. Students continued to protest at the theater during the interim, though the level of involvement varied greatly. The 1955 protests spurred the Governor's Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations to try to negotiate with the owners of the theater in an attempt to persuade them to integrate. The commission encountered considerable resistance from Northwood and also discovered that owners of other segregated theaters in Baltimore had the same attitude.[28] Though the commission failed to

convince the owners, its work points to an important aspect of the Baltimore civil rights movement. Despite significant resistance to integration from many parts of the power structure, there was far more support for change in Baltimore than in the Deep South where the government actively disrupted protest efforts. Civil rights protesters in Mississippi, for example, always encountered dramatic resistance from the entire white community, including the government. SNCC field workers who moved into the state in the early 1960s found it extremely difficult to organize local African Americans because of the repercussions that were sure to follow. In Alabama the NAACP was at one point banned.[29] Though Baltimore civil rights activists made tremendous sacrifices for their cause, the movement took a very different form in Maryland from other areas of the South.

White Students Join the Protest

The early involvement of white students from Johns Hopkins was an important characteristic of the Baltimore movement. There were two primary sources for student activism at Hopkins during the 1950s. The first were calls from Morgan State for aid in the direct action efforts of CORE, the Social Action Committee, and CIG. The second was discrimination against fellow Hopkins students. Johns Hopkins University had first begun to admit black undergraduate students in 1944. Though only thirty-one African Americans attended the school between 1944 and 1964, occasions arose in which this small part of the student body encountered discrimination.[30] Such instances were often the catalysts for campus discussion about segregation. Hopkins men targeted the issue differently from students at Morgan State by putting more focus on public dialogue and less on visible protests. Even this approach potentially threatened a university that saw itself as a traditionally southern school and was a part of Baltimore's elite white power structure. Open public discussions on segregation were indeed noteworthy for Hopkins at the time.[31]

The spring of 1955 saw much discussion about racial issues at Hopkins. Not only did some Hopkins men join Morgan State students at the Northwood Theatre demonstrations, but the planning committee for the annual "June Week" festivities changed the site of the senior prom as the result of one hotel's segregation policy. An African-American senior contacted the committee's chairman in mid-May 1955 to inquire if he would be able to attend the dance. The committee had not considered the question prior to that time, and the chairman contacted the Lord Baltimore Hotel, the planned host for the prom. The hotel manager stated that under no circumstances would they admit black students and threatened to "stop the dance if Negroes attended." The June Week planning committee immediately canceled the reservation at the Lord Baltimore and moved the dance to the Alcazar where all Hopkins students would be admitted.[32]

The dialogue that followed the decision is significant in that it is one of few times in which a large portion of the Hopkins student body found itself directly affected by the issue of racial discrimination. The Johns Hopkins *Newsletter* printed a front page article about the decision to change the dance venue, and the article's title highlighted segregation as the cause of the switch. The week's editorial commended committee chairman Ed Goldberg's quick action but noted that some undergraduates did not support the decision. The editorial stated that many Hopkins student leaders advocated keeping the issue quiet and leaving the dance at the Lord Baltimore. "The prevailing attitude was, 'Nothing can be done this year. Work slowly and quietly. In that way perhaps the situation can be changed. Above all, no publicity.'" The editorial maintained that the committee acted well to protect the rights of everyone in the Hopkins community.[33]

The impact of the June Week planning committee's decision extended beyond plans for the prom alone—it raised the issue of segregation and opened one of the first public discussions about what the appropriate response of the university should be. The editorial closed by saying "We hope, on a larger scale, that a positive viewpoint and a deep-rooted concern for the rights of others will become to an even larger degree than currently the forces motivating Hopkins student actions."[34] This one incident heightened the student body's awareness of discrimination in Baltimore. The city's black communities took note as well. That week's *Afro-American* published a front page article about the decision and included the *Newsletter's* editorial in full. To African Americans in Baltimore, Hopkins was among the last parts of the city still largely closed to them.[35] Thus, public resistance to segregation by the university was a noteworthy event.

The majority of Hopkins men in the 1950s paid little serious attention to civil rights issues. At times, however, the Hopkins student body showed a surprising level of support for civil rights activism. It was when black Hopkins students faced discrimination that reaction was strongest. One student wrote a letter to the *Newsletter* in April 1958 in outrage over discrimination against his friend at a nearby restaurant.[36] A year later, two more letters appeared in the campus paper, both decrying segregation in the area. Once again discrimination against black Hopkins students triggered the correspondence. A front page article in the next *Newsletter* commented on the student body's strong reaction to the disclosure of such practices. "Typical of student comments were: 'Back home there was never anything like this.'"

These instances reveal much about the attitude of Hopkins students. First, they occurred because of outrage over the general problem of discrimination but then out of frustration that a Hopkins student experienced it. This was also true in 1955 when the Lord Baltimore Hotel refused to lift its bar against African Americans for the prom. At no time did the June Week committee take the position that segregation was wrong, just that all Hopkins men had the right to be admitted to the dance. Only the editorial's hope for "a deep-rooted concern for the rights of

others" seemed to acknowledge the larger issue beneath the incident. Moreover, it seemed to most Hopkins students that the university had made significant progress on racial issues. The author of the April 1958 letter to the editor wrote, "the fact remains that Hopkins is truly an island of freedom and equality in a wide tragic sea." Indeed this may have been true, though only to the extent that thirty-one African American students in twenty years adds up to "equality."

Incidents of discrimination against Hopkins men did help to lay the foundation for a more sustained, less reactive, and episodic concern for civil rights among Hopkins students. In the early months of the 1955–56 school year, a group called Students for Democratic Action (SDA) followed up the dialogue surrounding June Week by announcing its plans to act against racial discrimination in Baltimore hotels.[37] Their plans involved working with the SDA parent organization, Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), in its drive to end hotel segregation. The ADA was formed in 1941 under the name Union for Democratic Action. It consisted of prominent white liberals and labor leaders concerned with issues of fair employment, racial discrimination, and anti-communism. Student groups became affiliated with ADA in the mid-1940s working on similar projects.[38]

The *Newsletter* reported that Hopkins students would serve on ADA committees compiling a list of racially discriminatory policies of all Baltimore hotels and petitioning organizations that were potential hotel clients for conventions or banquets to support desegregation publicly. The issue of hotel discrimination was especially revealing because it pointed to Baltimore's ambiguous nature as a border city. Local civil rights activists often noted that Baltimore was the only city with a major league baseball club in which team members were forced to stay at separate hotels due to discrimination.[39]

Students for Democratic Action, with a membership of about a dozen Hopkins men, remained the one student group to address racial issues consistently.[40] In October 1955, for example, SDA challenged the Student Council's Publicity Committee to explain why it had failed to invite the two predominantly African-American city high schools to a recruiting day at Hopkins. The SDA's own investigation had shown that black high school students in Baltimore did not recognize that the university had opened its doors to all applicants, and consequently, recruiting efforts would be most significant for the two African-American schools omitted. SDA pointed out to the Student Council that perhaps it was appropriate to make an extra effort to recruit more black students. In May 1956, Hopkins students joined SDA chapters across the country in organizing a fund-raising drive for the Montgomery bus boycott. The goal was to raise enough money to buy a station wagon for Martin Luther King's Montgomery Improvement Association.[41] Ties to students at other schools and to other organizations clearly helped to facilitate activism at Hopkins. SDA and ADA provided an institutional framework for Hopkins student involvement and eased the move into civil rights activism.

The presence of a strong institutional framework was often a factor in the effectiveness and extent of student activist involvement. This seemed to be especially true for white college students who were an integral component of civil rights work but often came to the movement after contact with an already established liberal center. At the University of Texas in Austin, for example, there were two notable influences in attracting white students to civil rights activism. The Christian Faith-and-Life Community (CFLC) and the campus YMCA/YWCA both offered an impressive dose of secular and Christian liberal programming. The CFLC was an experimental live-in community center that promoted study, primarily in theology and philosophy, outside of the classroom. Students who became involved at the community quickly learned to apply the tenets of Christianity to real life experiences, including social issues.[42]

The YMCA/YWCA complimented the CFLC by offering programs that were more directly political. It gave students an opportunity to put to use the ideas that the CFLC had cultivated. Foremost among the missions of the Texas Y was to provide a safe space for free speech on campus. The staff of the Y maintained its independence from the university by relying on privately raised money instead of funding from the school. During the sit-ins of the early 1960s, the YMCA ignored the university's orders and provided space to the student group organizing the protests.[43]

The campus YMCA at Johns Hopkins took on a role very similar to that of the Y at the University of Texas. The branch was located at Levering Hall and joined with the Office of the Chaplain. Beginning in 1953, Chester Wickwire served as both the executive secretary of the YMCA and the university's chaplain. Like the UT-Y, Wickwire and his staff aided in the development of student activism by providing a haven for liberals on an otherwise conservative campus. Out of Levering Hall, Wickwire ran various student life programs such as concerts, dances, and movie screenings while simultaneously organizing political discussions about civil rights, pacifism, the Cold War, and Vietnam. Dr. Wickwire himself had strong liberal views. He was a perennial figure in Baltimore civil rights activity who served on human relations committees, organized protests, and later helped to give protection to the Black Panthers.[44]

In line with Wickwire's own views, Levering Hall, like the University of Texas YMCA, always made the effort to open its doors to anyone who desired a free discussion. Conferences and panels held at the YMCA often provided opposing viewpoints. One example of this was a "Racial Integration" discussion in March 1956. The visiting panel consisted of Dr. Earl Moses, a Morgan State sociologist, Father Swift of St. Monica's church, Judge Armand Scott of the municipal court, and George W. Williams, a former district judge. In contrast to the other speakers, Williams represented a strong pro-segregation viewpoint and stated that the 1954 *Brown* vs. *Board of Education* decision was "one of the rankest unjustifiable decisions I've ever heard of."[45]

Around the same time that the Social Action Committee of Morgan State had begun protests at Northwood Theatre, Levering Hall held a city-wide conference on discrimination. The Young Adult Council, sponsor for the event, invited "student groups from all the colleges in this area and numerous religious, political and social organizations from throughout the city." This event was significant in its attempt to unite a variety of disconnected groups, and also because it helped Levering Hall become the only Hopkins-affiliated center for liberal political activism in the city. Tom Hayden's description of the Austin YMCA was equally apt for Levering when he called it "*the* liberated spot on the silent campus."[46]

At Levering Hall, student groups acquired the practical building blocks for radicalism such as office supplies and meeting space. They also had the advantages of Dr. Wickwire's guidance and protection. He advised them on how to attack sensitive issues and served as a buffer between the administration and students during conflicts. The fact that the university and the YMCA shared responsibility for Wickwire's position at Levering Hall proved to be a blessing for the growth of activism as well. Dr. Wickwire recalled that "most of the time, we were able to slip through the cracks. No one had direct control over our activities. It gave us the freedom to work." When he organized an integrated jazz concert in 1959, lawyers for Hopkins and the YMCA separately wrote letters denying responsibility for the race riots that were sure to follow, but no one stopped the show.[47] Hopkins students who seemed to "slip through the cracks" of the conservative campus often ended up involved at Levering Hall where they organized themselves.

The radicalism of the 1950s built the foundation for more extensive activism in the 1960s. Though the university maintained a limited perspective of its wider responsibility to the Baltimore community, an increasing number of Hopkins students branched out into civil rights activism and other social movements by the 1960s. Periodic discontent with discrimination gave rise to sustained radicalism out of the SDA and Levering Hall. From the beginning, however, there were notable differences between activism at Hopkins and that at Morgan State, even when their students cooperated. Though these differences were constantly in flux, some remained throughout.

Hopkins-Morgan Differences

In the latter half of the 1950s, Morgan State students in the Civic Interest Group continued their protests at the Northwood shopping center. August Meier, a white former history professor at Morgan State, wrote that every spring the campaign against the theater gained momentum and students began demonstrating in greater numbers. CIG also targeted the Rooftop Dining Room at the Hecht-May Company department store in the Northwood plaza. Protests there had also been unsuccessful in 1958 and 1959.[48]

Spring 1959 did see one important victory for the Civic Interest Group. Students had simultaneously protested the Arundel Ice Cream store while they demonstrated at the Rooftop restaurant. Beginning on March 13, Morgan students descended on Arundel using picketing and sit-ins to pressure the store's owner. The *Afro-American* reported that as many as 450 students at a time were involved in the protests. Five days after the sit-ins began, the restaurant's manager announced to the students that they had "as much right to be served here as anyone else. Whenever you come here, you will be treated like any other customer." This victory, however, did not halt further protests at the shopping center. CIG received considerable publicity for the success, continued its drive and used its momentum to set up negotiations with Northwood Theatre and Hecht-May management. At that time, CIG carried enough support to maintain rotating shifts of fifteen to twenty pickets at all times during the Easter weekend.[49]

The direct action efforts of the Civic Interest Group preceded the now famous Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-ins of early 1960. Though similar in strategy, the Greensboro sit-ins were distinct from CIG's protests and indeed from any protest the country had seen. In writing about Greensboro's civil rights struggle, William Chafe called the sit-ins "a watershed in the history of America. . . . The long road that would lead from Greensboro to Selma to Black Power and beyond had found its starting point." They sparked similar demonstrations in cities across the South such as Durham, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Nashville, Raleigh, and Atlanta. Taylor Branch noted that the sit-ins provided a new focus for Martin Luther King and his supporters; the students had made the step to nonviolent confrontation that he had sought to make for several years. The student sit-ins infused a new energy into the civil rights movement and helped to channel its direction in the coming decade. The protests in spring 1960 were spontaneous, open-ended, fragmented, and lacking any centralized organization, yet perhaps for these reasons they attracted thousands of students across the nation and provided a model for expression of discontent. Without denying the momentous effect of the Greensboro protests, the Baltimore movement shows that sit-ins were not invented there. Indeed, historian Aldon Morris has asserted that the strategy had been used earlier in sixteen other cities by student-led direct action groups that tended to be well connected to their black communities, as was the case in Baltimore (which he fails to include in his list).[50]

In contrast to the 1960 demonstrations in the South, CIG's Baltimore sit-ins had been more considered, organized, and deliberate. The presence of a central organizing force behind the protests contributed to the creation of these differences. The wave of sit-ins in 1960 was a catalyst for the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the prominent national student civil rights group of the 1960s. SNCC's original intent, according to scholar Emily Stoper, was to "coordinate the sit-in activity, keep the leaders in touch with each other, raise funds, increase publicity and perhaps arrange to start sit-ins in places where

they had not appeared spontaneously."[51] The Civic Interest Group had already functioned in very much this capacity in Baltimore for several years, bridging the separation between student radicals in the city and organizing their collective energies. That Baltimore activism did not receive the same attention as the Greensboro sit-ins or spark a wild-fire of protests across the nation both illustrates and widens the distance between Baltimore and the Deep South. Just as scholars have all but ignored the local Baltimore movement in studying American civil rights, so too was it neglected at the time.

African Americans in Baltimore nevertheless noticed the appearance of sit-ins in the South. The *Afro-American* included a front page article on the Greensboro protests that reflected the confusion about who, if anyone, was in charge of the demonstrators. For the next two months, the paper included a "Sit-down Roundup" section that recounted the week's news of student sit-ins across the country. It reported enthusiasm among the students and expressed strong support.[52] The white press reported on the first week of sit-ins, but without the *Afro-American*'s detail or consistency.

Johns Hopkins students also responded to the sit-ins. One student astutely noted that young people across the country seemed to be expressing common "disgust and anger" at segregation without communicating with one another. Letters to the *Newsletter*'s editor internalized the message of the protests and called for investigation into racial bias at Hopkins. In late February 1960 a small group of Hopkins students began to organize sit-ins at the Blue Jay restaurant just a few blocks from the school. After a campus concert on the evening of February 22 (sponsored by the Levering YMCA), Duke Ellington went to the Blue Jay with Chester Wickwire and student leaders to protest discriminatory policies. Later the students spread their efforts to other restaurants near the university that refused to serve African Americans.[53] Until at least the late 1950s black Hopkins students could only get food on campus, and by 1960 student activists had finally started to make some progress in their struggle. Restaurants targeted by the students had either begun negotiations or agreed to a trial period of integration by the end of the first week of protesting.[54] Both major white newspapers in Baltimore gave attention to the Hopkins protests and increased their coverage of the national sit-in movement during this time.

Shortly after the initial demonstrations, the student council created the Johns Hopkins Intergroup Relations Committee, headed by John Katz, one of the leaders of the sit-ins. That spring the committee co-sponsored a conference on race relations with the *Newsletter* and the YMCA at which community leaders such as Furman Templeton, of the Baltimore Urban League, and Leon Sachs, a local Jewish leader, spoke. Outraged at the university for "aiding and abetting bigotry" of apartment managers, the committee also launched an investigation into housing discrimination at Hopkins.[55]

Although Hopkins students used the Greensboro sit-ins as a catalyst for their own efforts, it is not clear that Morgan State students reacted the same way. They had, after all, engaged in serious and sustained civil rights activism for several years, sometimes using sit-ins themselves. While students across the country took inspiration from the Greensboro moment, the Civic Interest Group continued on its steady course of struggle and registered important victories for the Baltimore civil rights movement.

One detail that partially reveals the attitude of CIG leaders and Morgan activists is that they began their protests at the Northwood Shopping Center right on their annual schedule. In mid-March, about six weeks after the Greensboro sit-ins, CIG launched what was to be a defining protest campaign in the group's history. The demonstrations, once again aimed at the Rooftop Dining Room at Hecht-May's department store and the Northwood Theatre, began when they most likely would have even without a swell of student protests in the nation. The six-week interval between Greensboro and the Northwood demonstrations illustrates the strength and confidence that CIG had built up independently by 1960.

On March 15, 1960, CIG began protests at Northwood, splitting its numbers between the theater and the Rooftop restaurant. The *Afro-American* reported that two hundred students demonstrated that day and on the following two days; Vernon Horn indicated that as many as three hundred students protested during the week. Whatever the exact number was, it is clear that this round of demonstrations elicited an unusually strong response from the Morgan student body and Baltimore's African-American community. Several students registered their support in the *Afro-American,* and the editors commended CIG for its "determination to see the situation to its end."[56] Though the wave of southern sit-ins did not necessarily spark the renewed Northwood protests, they provided a backdrop that encouraged strong student participation.

Hecht-May responded to the sit-ins by requesting a court injunction against the protests. In the complaint the store reported that the sit-ins had produced a 49 percent drop in restaurant business and a 35 percent drop in retail trade. Judge Joseph Allen limited the number of pickets at the Northwood Hecht-May store to two. In an attempt to maintain their momentum, CIG leaders decided to move their protests to the department stores downtown, including another Hecht-May store, whose lunch counters also discriminated. Indeed, the injunction was necessary in inducing this decision; CIG leaders had thought such downtown demonstrations not feasible when they considered them in the early stages of the protest. Morgan State was several miles from downtown Baltimore, and the distance presented logistical problems in terms of getting students to and from the demonstration sites.[57]

The backdrop of social change generated increased support not just from students, but adults as well. The established civil rights structure lent its strength

to CIG during these demonstrations more ostensibly than it had for many years. The NAACP provided bail to those arrested; Juanita Jackson Mitchell (now married to Clarence Mitchell, Jr.) announced the formation of a supporting "Mother's Committee"; CORE, the YWCA, the AME Preachers Meeting of Baltimore, the Baptist Ministers Conference of Baltimore, and the Fellowship House offered monetary help and verbal support through letters to department store management. Local black ministers offered the backing of their congregations and their own bodies for the picket lines. Baltimore's Urban League was particularly helpful in that it had held secret, closed door discussions with the Hecht-May Company. August Meier, who was by then serving as an adult advisor to CIG, said that the original suggestion to move the protests to the four major downtown department stores, a strategy proposed prior to the injunction, came from the Urban League's executive secretary, who had received the idea directly from Hecht-May management. After the injunction was imposed, the NAACP provided funding for chartered buses to carry the students downtown.[58]

The decision to move demonstrations downtown proved to be instrumental in CIG's ultimate success.[59] On March 26, 1960, four buses brought students from Morgan State to the city, where they divided into four teams, each one targeting a store. Guards waiting at Hecht-May refused to admit the students. At Stewart's department store the dining room closed immediately upon the team's arrival. Hutzler's, the city's leading store, allowed the students to sit down until closing time. The Hochschild-Kohn department store was also prepared for the demonstrators; when the students arrived the staff received them with what the *Afro-American* described as "prompt and courteous service." August Meier recalled that the students were so surprised that they barely had the money to purchase anything.[60]

With this first victory behind them and community support growing every day, the Civic Interest Group pressed on, using sit-ins whenever possible and pickets at the three remaining stores for the next three weeks. Students protested two or three days a week, and the stores began to shut down their restaurants at the first sign of their coming, a tactic that was to CIG's advantage, as shown when eight students managed to close all four dining rooms at Hutzler's by themselves. It soon became clear through discussions with management that if Hutzler's store integrated, Stewart's and Hecht-May would follow. Albert Hutzler, who was away on vacation until April 15, invited Robert Watts and CIG leaders to his office the night after his return to discuss the situation. Hutzler called the owners of the two other stores on the spot and said he would integrate and that he expected them to follow suit. The next day, the *Baltimore Sun* announced CIG's success, and the *Afro-American* ran the story under a banner headline in its next edition.[61]

CIG's victory spring 1960 was important not only because it integrated several strongholds of segregation in Baltimore but also because it served as a gateway into the next phase of the group's existence. It had once again proven the

enormous influence student activists could have on the local movement. CIG's demonstrations, unlike many of the sit-ins in the South, produced quick results. The students had been so effective in organizing peaceful, nonviolent protests and communicating with the businesses involved that August Meier observed "there was something downright genteel about this phase of the Civic Interest Group's operations in Baltimore."[62] Adults in the local civil rights movement could not help but notice the efficiency and dedication of the CIG effort. Adult recognition, coupled with the strength of the organization, shaped the next three years of activism by CIG in which the group branched out into other areas of civil rights while simultaneously maintaining its original path of direct action.

The combination of national attention to student sit-ins in the South and CIG's success in Baltimore created an environment ripe for further activism. The Civic Interest Group used its momentum in several ways. It continued its efforts to desegregate public accommodations in Baltimore. The group initiated voter registration drives with great success. CIG also began to focus attention on civil rights in other areas of Maryland, through Route 40 Freedom Rides and demonstrations on the Eastern Shore. In these efforts, the group received increased support from non-Morgan State students. Hopkins men continued in their early participation with CIG and, for the first time, Goucher women and area high school students joined them. Meier described those most involved with CIG at Morgan State during this period as being on the fringes of the "elite crowd," less likely to be involved in athletics, Greek life, or student government, or to be on the honor roll.[63] The next three years brought significant expansion in the Civic Interest Group's activities. Although similar growth was chaotic and confusing to other student radical organizations and adult activists, CIG generally handled it quite successfully. This period also saw increased competition between groups in the local movement. Tension frequently materialized between students and adults.

CIG continued its work to integrate public accommodations in late spring 1960. Its next target for direct action was the Mondawmin branch of the White Coffee Pot chain restaurants, the only establishment in its surrounding area that discriminated. The Baltimore CORE chapter had already protested at the restaurant, and CIG sought to aid its effort. Robert Watts began talks with Myles and Jerome Katz, the owners of the chain, on behalf of the Civic Interest Group. The Katz brothers felt that integrating would be risky given local white attitudes, but they soon agreed to desegregate the Mondawmin branch on a trial basis. To expedite future integration, CIG negotiated the desegregation of two competitors to the White Coffee Pot, whom the Katz brothers feared would take advantage of their decision. The *Afro-American* announced in May 1960 that twelve downtown restaurants were integrating as the result of student protesting. About this time, Goucher students became active in Civic Interest Group protests, and they maintained a presence in CIG for the next several years.[64]

As the end of the school year approached, CIG leaders recognized that any sit-ins and pickets planned for the summer would likely require a different base of support. During summer vacation the Morgan campus would cease to act as a recruiting center for CIG. Furthermore, Clarence Logan recalled that because CIG wanted further to "distance its activities from a State supported school base," the group had moved its headquarters several miles from campus to Mount Lebanon Baptist Church after the spring campaign. In planning an extensive public accommodations integration drive for that summer, CIG turned to high school students for help.[65]

CIG contacted Robert Bell, then student government president at Dunbar High School, and asked for his help in recruiting students for summer sit-ins. On June 17, 1960, Bell and eleven other students traveled downtown to Hooper's Restaurant on Greenmount Avenue and 31st Streets, where they sat down and requested service and were subsequently arrested for violating state trespass laws. NAACP lawyers saw the matter as a perfect test case and appealed the decision. *Bell* vs. *Maryland* was eventually argued before the U.S. Supreme Court by a legal team that included Thurgood Marshall and Juanita Jackson Mitchell. The decision was finally reversed in 1965.[66]

Protests and sit-ins continued in Baltimore City all summer. On June 30 seven more students were arrested at Hooper's, including Hopkins graduate Tony Adona, who had organized the demonstration, and several high school girls. Mary Sue Welcome, daughter of former State Senator Verda Welcome, was sixteen when she was arrested. She wrote an account of her "Three Hours Behind the Bars" in the *Afro-American*, in which she said that as a member of the Civic Interest Group she "was willing to do anything to accomplish the goal" of desegregation. CIG protests occurred simultaneously at the Snow White Grill as well. On July 20 a police officer arrested three more students, charging them with "obstructing free passage" during a sit-in and picket demonstration at a White Tower restaurant. The students targeted at least five other restaurants during the summer where no arrests were made.[67]

CIG augmented such direct action efforts with interracial pickets at municipal buildings. The group demonstrated at City Hall in late April and early May in support of the proposed Dixon Civil Rights bill, which would integrate all places of public accommodations in Baltimore. In August 1960, CIG participated in a demonstration at the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol in Washington. Twenty-eight members walked from Baltimore to the nation's capital and joined three hundred demonstrators, primarily from CIG as well, who had been bused to the protest. The vast majority of CIG's participants were high school students. It was reported that this was the first anti-segregation demonstration ever held at the Capitol building. Civic Interest Group members were proud to have taken their case to a seat of national power; Clarence Logan stated that they were determined to be "seen and heard."[68]

A Broader Target

The Civic Interest Group used direct action protests for the next several years, maintaining pickets at the Northwood Theatre and demonstrating at Baltimore restaurants such as One West and the China Clipper.[69] But CIG also began to progress beyond its sole focus of desegregating Baltimore's public accommodations. New issues grew increasingly important to the group. This shift in direction mirrored one to come later in the national movement.

While the adult leadership of the Baltimore civil rights movement was pleased with CIG's progress using direct action, many also hoped to see the students deploy their energy and organization to aid in voter registration. In July 1960, Carl Murphy of the *Afro-American*, Clarence Mitchell Jr., Lillie Carroll Jackson, and more than fifty leaders met to discuss strategy for the upcoming months. Four representatives from the Civic Interest Group—Clarence Mitchell III, Clarence Logan, John Quarles, and Tony Adona—were called to the meeting, still ignorant of its purpose. Murphy told the gathered leaders of religious, civic, social, and fraternal organizations that the students had done well to show them the importance of nonviolent direct action but that the time had come to redirect the focus of the community to black voter registration. Baltimore's NAACP had organized a registration drive in 1958 with considerable success on which it hoped the 1960 campaign would build.[70]

This was a moment unmatched in the Baltimore movement. August Meier has suggested that even in idealistic social movements, power rivalries are inevitable. In Baltimore the NAACP had set the agenda and led the way for civil rights activism for more than twenty-five years. The rise of student radicals, however, challenged the adult leadership of the Baltimore NAACP, producing tension because the student organizations sought independence from the outset. The NAACP wanted to control CIG's activities, and the students' strong push for autonomy created what Meier called a "bitter quarrel" between the two groups. He wrote that at a CIG meeting in 1962 NAACP leader Lillie Carroll Jackson shouted at students, "You still belong to us!" The agendas of both groups were evident in the national movement as well. When the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee formed, it made a conscious decision not to tie itself directly to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). One SNCC figure said that the students should have the freedom to control their own destinies, even if it meant making some mistakes. Even within the national NAACP, competition existed between adults and students, as seen at the 1961 convention when the youth of the organization waged a campaign for greater autonomy.[71] When CIG agreed to collaborate with the NAACP on the voter registration drive, the group set aside these tensions for the good of the movement. Predictably, the temporary union dissolved.

CIG's charge during the "Register and Vote Drive" was to assist in door-to-

door canvassing of African-American citizens. The students contacted Thomas D'Alesandro III, president of Baltimore City's elections board and future mayor, requesting extended hours one day a week for the supervisor of elections office. They also arranged for a one-day auxiliary registration at Lafayette Market. CIG provided babysitters and buses for parents to help eliminate common obstacles to registration. Financial support for the effort came from the NAACP, churches, and community groups. The drive was a success, reporting that 19,549 new black voters had registered during the campaign. CIG followed up on this work by launching its first voter registration campaign independent of the NAACP a year later. The importance of voter registration became evident during the November 1960 elections when Baltimore City's black voters gave John F. Kennedy 58,562 votes, accounting almost exactly for the margin of his win in Maryland.[72]

The push for voter registration marked one critical point at which the history of CIG, and students in Baltimore more generally, intersected with that of the larger movement. Beginning in 1961, debate about voter registration became an important part of the national civil rights scene, particularly among student activists. CIG had been loosely affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from its inception. Clarence Mitchell III attended the August 1960 SNCC conference as a CIG representative.[73] Between July 14 and July 16, 1961, the Civic Interest Group hosted a national SNCC meeting attended by prominent figures such as Martin Luther King, SNCC's adult advisor Ella Baker, CORE chairman James Farmer, and former SNCC chairman Marion Barry. The conference is noteworthy as one of the few instances when national civil rights leadership convened in Baltimore. The historic moment arrived in large part because of the effectiveness of CIG as a student group. The conference also marked the rise of intense SNCC debate about the importance of voter registration compared with direct action protest. According to historian Clayborne Carson, the division that grew out of this debate threatened to fragment SNCC completely.[74]

Direct action proponents in SNCC argued that greater attention to voter registration represented a type of selling out to white liberals. In addition, they suggested that SNCC's organizational structure and protest strategies did not lend themselves to mass voter registration. Carson observed that supporters of voter registration believed it to be a "natural outgrowth of their movement," the beginning of a shift from relatively disjointed protests toward coordinated advancement of black political consciousness on a grander scale. The drive for voter registration also held considerable potential for financial support. The bitterness of the Baltimore conference surfaced again in discussions at an August meeting at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. There, under the guidance of Ella Baker, the group compromised by creating two internal arms, one focusing on voter registration and the other on direct action.[75]

This debate touched on questions at the very heart of the civil rights move-

ment. It evaluated what was most important for real improvements in the lives of black Americans. The participants questioned whether nonviolent protests to desegregate public accommodations were enough, or if there were actually more subtle issues around the operation of white power that activists should address. Activists in the Greensboro, North Carolina, movement, adults and students alike, discovered that after three years of intense, organized, and grueling demonstrations structural and institutional racism seemed as entrenched as ever. At the symbolic birthplace of the sit-ins, black leaders began to think that they had taken direct action as far as it would go.[76]

Perhaps no more important inquiry ever confronted the movement, and it was one that consistently reappeared over the next several years in slightly different forms. Students in the Civic Interest Group came to a conclusion similar to that reached by SNCC at Highlander in 1961. The black freedom struggle depended both on the progress of direct action protests that attacked basic issues of respect and equality in the public sphere, and on the wresting of political power for African Americans. CIG made this step with a "genteel" ease that contrasted with the bitter struggle in the national movement. Baltimore's established adult civil rights milieu had provided a forum for discussion and a means for the project's implementation, but it was CIG that balanced the two sides of the question simultaneously.

Beginning in 1960, the Civic Interest Group began to sponsor demonstrations at businesses outside of Baltimore on Maryland's Route 40, the only major highway from New York City to Washington, D.C., at the time.[77] The move to Route 40 protests was part of a turn in Baltimore student activism in which the participants expanded their focus and tactics, encountered renewed tension with adult activists, and faced white resistance not seen before. This period also led to increased involvement by white students.

After young activists from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York demonstrated on Route 40 throughout the summer of 1961, national CORE sent its own representatives into Maryland to evaluate the situation and rally support for more extensive Freedom Rides. With the help of CIG, CORE attracted students from the Nonviolent Action Group based in Washington, the Northern Student Movement in northeastern cities, and, of course, from Baltimore. The protests engaged white students, including many from Hopkins and Goucher, who had never participated with CIG before.[78] In November 1961, with such support lined up behind it, CORE agreed to a compromise from the governor's office in which forty out of seventy-five businesses on Route 40 would integrate within two weeks. The students felt that CORE's leadership had sold them out with this agreement, since it represented a partial victory at best. CIG then organized three Saturdays of massive protesting in Baltimore in the next month, in which the college students from around the northeast who had rallied for the Freedom Rides participated. The effort, called "Project Baltimore," protested segregation at more than fifty city

restaurants and included seventy-four arrests. It was an important occasion in that students in the local movement were able to recruit hundreds from other areas to join them.[79]

The dynamics of this situation reveal much about CIG's relationship to CORE, the adult group it mirrored most in purpose and strategy. CORE had relied on the efforts of students to recruit enough demonstrators to make the protests meaningful, yet adult leaders agreed to the governor's proposal without the consent of CIG. This was one occasion when intergroup competition in the civil rights movement, on which Meier commented, was evident. He wrote that there was pressure on social action groups "to receive full credit for what they are doing, since each needs a good image if it is to attract the members and funds necessary to carry on and expand its work." His comments suggest that CORE hoped to produce a victory agreement to bolster its own reputation.[80] Unlike the tension between the NAACP and CIG, the question in the Route 40 situation was not as much about adults attempting to control the students as it was about the students' sense of betrayal. CORE had let the students down by agreeing to a shaky compromise and by doing so on its own.[81]

While the Route 40 demonstrations may have been disappointing to students in one sense, they were influential in another. Shortly after the Route 40 debacle, the Civic Interest Group launched a series of protests outside of Baltimore on Maryland's Eastern Shore, where the group would maintain a presence for several years thereafter. In late 1961 and early 1962, CIG held Eastern Shore demonstrations in Crisfield, Cambridge, Grasonville, and Chestertown. Route 40 helped to guide Baltimore student activists' focus further away from the city itself and gave them direct exposure to the strategy of the Freedom Rides for the first time. This tactic became central to CIG's protest strategy on the Shore.

On the Eastern Shore, students encountered resistance from white locals unheard of in Baltimore. On January 22, 1962, CIG demonstrations in Cambridge sparked what the *Baltimore News-Post* described as a "bottle-throwing, fist-swinging riot" in which at least one protester was injured. The man, a veteran of the Freedom Rides in the Deep South, remarked that racial attitudes on the Eastern Shore were "more hostile than in Mississippi." Baltimore's civil rights struggle had faced significant white resistance, but on the Eastern Shore activists encountered aspects of the Deep South in a border state. Hopkins graduate Cliff Durand termed the area "a little Georgia"; Robert Bell described it as "a different world." The deep prejudices of the Shore were somewhat foreign to Baltimore residents, even those who had encountered racism in the city.[82]

Although the net effects of CIG's Eastern Shore demonstrations are debatable, some consequences are clear. The protests revealed the strength of festering racial tensions and dramatized the worst discrimination in the state. The presence of interracial college students offered local African Americans on the Eastern Shore some mea-

sure of protection during demonstrations.[83] Furthermore, the experience of student leaders helped local blacks begin their own grassroots movements. Cambridge, in particular, held significance for the national movement in this regard. Edward Trever reported in his 1994 master's thesis that national leaders considered the movement in Cambridge "the first grassroots campaign outside of the Deep South."[84]

Through its activities on the Eastern Shore, and especially in Cambridge where attention quickly turned to questions concerning economic and political empowerment, CIG began to incorporate programs that targeted economic issues into its own strategies as early as 1962. For example, they helped to organize tutoring programs for black students in Cambridge by 1963 and began working with local labor unions shortly afterwards. SNCC and CORE began to focus on economic issues near the end of 1963; CNAC and CIG progress on such ideas predated the turn that these and other national organizations would take.[85]

While CIG's move to the Eastern Shore represented one type of expansion in Baltimore student activism, increased participation of white students in the movement was another. In the early 1960s white activists moved far beyond the limited and unorganized radicalism at Hopkins in the 1950s and began to make more significant contributions to the local civil rights struggle. Working with both Morgan State activists and independently, white students from Goucher and Hopkins helped CIG sustain a viable membership, attracted considerable media attention to protests, and participated in the development of the New Left. John Higham recently argued that such interracial coalitions have always been an important part of successful racial advancement movements in the United States. He suggested that the breakup of the civil rights struggle as a cohesive movement was partly caused by the alienation of white activists from its ranks. In addition to providing a piece of the local movement story line, examining white student involvement in Baltimore may help to evaluate a claim such as Higham's.[86]

White students felt that their role in the Civic Interest Group was as active participants in demonstrations and as recruiters of other students. Former Hopkins and Goucher students in the movement stated that their self-defined place in the group was not in the leadership. Cliff Durand, a Hopkins graduate student when he was involved with CIG, recalled that he and other white students felt it was important that the civil rights struggle be led by African Americans. Other white activists like Kim Moody, Charles Capper, Karen Olson, Susan Weiss, and August Meier shared this view. Stokely Carmichael, one of the founders of the black power movement, was amazed in 1961 to find a white person—Meier—following black leadership, something he had not thought possible. Carmichael coined the term "liberal activist" to describe Meier's role.[87]

Intermixed with such attitudes, however, was an underlying current of racial paternalism among some white students. On rare occasions it surfaced in CIG, but the group's black leadership was so strong and white student belief in it so deep

that significant tension never arose. African Americans welcomed whites as supporters, who in turn welcomed the opportunity to aid in any capacity.[88]

White participation in CIG usually meant demonstrating in direct action protests. Recalling the late 1950s, Robert Watts described the aid he received after meeting with Hopkins students at the *Newsletter* office until three in the morning. "When I told them [the Hopkins men] about the situation, they got excited right away and started making phone calls. The next day, we had more pickets than we could handle." In the fall of 1960 interracial CIG demonstrators picketed a local democratic party fundraiser held at a segregated restaurant. Goucher women were among those who met in November 1961 to discuss the Route 40 situation. Days later, some were arrested in the "Project Baltimore" demonstrations. Hopkins men became the favorite targets of hecklers on the Eastern Shore and often bore the brunt of violent resistance to demonstrations.[89] Indeed, white students were consistent contributors to the Civic Interest Group.

Radicals at Goucher and Hopkins maintained involvement in civil rights activism separately from CIG and Morgan State students. We have already seen some examples of such activism at Hopkins, including the 1960 restaurant sit-ins. The sit-ins immediately sparked further activism. In the summer of 1960 concerned students formed the Hopkins Committee for Basic Freedoms to study racial discrimination at the university, examining problems in housing, admissions, and employment. The group's twenty members, primarily graduate students, researched for over a year and published their first report on "Racial Discrimination and Johns Hopkins" in the fall of 1961. The report sharply criticized the university's failure to take a leading role in advancing civil rights in Baltimore and sparked debate between students and administrators about school policies and the appropriate form for student protest.[90]

Johns Hopkins University occupied an influential position in Baltimore as one of Maryland's largest employers and its most prominent intellectual institution. It had historically moved slowly on racial issues, claiming that the city would not tolerate change. The university perceived itself to be a school in a southern city and feared the reaction of whites in Baltimore to liberal stances on civil rights. At the same time, Hopkins administrators were apprehensive lest the black community give the university bad publicity. Consequently the school walked a fine line between opposing social forces, producing enough reform on racial questions to claim to be progressive while simultaneously maintaining a non-threatening image for white conservatives. The university's housing policy illustrated this balance. Hopkins traditionally kept separate housing lists for black and white students, with only one-tenth of the housing options open to African Americans in 1961. Under pressure from students and some faculty, the administration ceased using two housing lists and required all landlords who rented to students to sign a public pledge of non-discrimination in 1964. The university's president, however,

privately told landlords that they did not have to follow through with the pledge.[91]

The Johns Hopkins student-run newspaper, the *Newsletter*, was another consistent supporter of civil rights activism on campus. After the spring 1960 sit-ins, the paper announced that it would no longer run ads for the Blue Jay Restaurant and all other segregated establishments. Editorials implored students to "come out of their cocoons" and take a positive stand on civil rights. It provided activists with a valuable forum to levy their opinions and recruit support from the student body.[92]

In 1962 a small group of Hopkins activists were involved in petitioning support for open public accommodations legislation in the city council. Alan Smith was a graduate student when he helped organize a campaign against two city councilmen who opposed an upcoming bill to desegregate public accommodations. The students rallied African-American voters to help defeat both councilmen in the fall elections.[93]

The opening page of a 1968 information packet on Levering Hall shows the commitment to student activism that the chaplain's office provided Hopkins throughout the 1960s. Its cover reads "Studying the problem is only the beginning . . . the end must be to bring about change." Indeed, Levering Hall remained a fixture for student radicals at Hopkins who wished to do just that. Chester Wickwire created an inner-city tutorial program in 1958 that, while not intrinsically a form of civil rights activism, exposed hundreds of Hopkins men to the effects of poverty and racism in Baltimore. Students who would not participate in demonstrations or sit-ins became involved with the tutorial. Within a decade, the program had drawn support from students at Goucher, Towson, and Notre Dame. The tutorial marked a significant difference between successful student activism at Hopkins and at Morgan State: Civic Interest Group activities were the primary vehicle for Morgan activists, while lower risk programs such as the tutorial were prominent at Johns Hopkins.[94]

Goucher students began their involvement in the civil rights movement in 1960 through CIG protests and the Hopkins sit-ins. Beginning in spring 1960 the student body maintained an active dialogue about racial issues and the school's role in the civil rights movement. As at Morgan State and Hopkins, the earliest targets at Goucher for independent activism were segregated restaurants near campus. By 1962 the base of support for civil rights involvement was extensive enough for some Goucher women to launch a campaign to integrate businesses in the Towson area. By polling local residents, they found that 85 percent of Towson consumers would continue to support restaurants if they desegregated. They organized a student boycott of establishments that discriminated in which more than a third of the student body participated.[95]

Much civil rights activism at Goucher took a form similar to that at Hopkins—focused on discussion and public statements on social issues rather than on direct action. Campus leaders invited radical speakers to lecture, including Norman

Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, and professors from Morgan State. Activists tried to diversify the student body by recruiting African Americans for the college. The student newspaper, like the Hopkins *Newsletter*, became a central operator in radical involvement, endorsing certain projects and criticizing others. In October 1962, for example, the *Goucher Weekly* printed a full page of information on a local public accommodations bill in the city council and asked students to attend the open hearing on the matter.[96] Goucher students demonstrated with the Civic Interest Group and organized activism that was less risky, though still visible, on their own campus.

Goucher quickly built a reputation as a school whose liberalism surpassed any of the other predominantly white colleges in Baltimore. The *Newsletter* wrote an editorial in November 1960 praising activism at its sister school. "Goucher College is successful because it has what Hopkins doesn't have: a strong sense of awareness that real education entails far more than the contents between two covers; that a school's educational burden isn't fulfilled unless it has done more than the bare minimum." The commentary went on to say that political activism should be part of college education, both for the sake of students and for a school's surrounding community. It lamented the waste of resources at Hopkins compared to Goucher's success with relatively little. This view of the college's progressive attitude is supported by former Hopkins students such as Cliff Durand, Kim Moody, and Charles Capper, who all perceived Goucher students as more involved than their counterparts at Hopkins.[97]

The comparison between the two schools raises the question of why Goucher was more involved in civil rights than Hopkins, even if its participation began later. There are several possible contributors to this phenomenon. The pressure that Hopkins administrators felt from the city was, at least partially, quite real. The university was a leading economic force in the city and had a great deal to lose through risky social policies. It was located *in* Baltimore where its presence could be strongly felt. On the other hand, Goucher was a small liberal arts college physically removed from the city. Its position gave it more freedom to encourage activism.[98]

The presence of liberal adults at Goucher may also have contributed to the rise of student concern for civil rights. Susan Weiss, a former Goucher activist who was arrested while picketing in school, recalled that the school's president, Otto Kraushaar, was "the cement for the college." Kraushaar had always supported progressive attitudes on social issues. In one speech he noted the "sane revolutionary tradition which we in the United States have inherited." He encouraged students to follow in this tradition using reason and logic at all times. The Goucher faculty was far more supportive of civil rights than Hopkins professors. In 1961 the Director of Vocational Guidance wrote in the *Goucher Weekly* about the need for civic responsibility. Professor Alan Brick influenced students like Karen Olson with his strong liberal ideas. At the beginning of the drive to integrate Towson

restaurants, every member of the Goucher faculty signed a petition urging the businesses to desegregate. This contrasts sharply with the prevailing attitude among Hopkins faculty in which professors felt that their position removed them from involvement in social issues.[99]

Whatever the causes behind the contrasting images of Hopkins and Goucher students, it is clear that there was some truth to the perception. Goucher activists were able to rally an impressive one-third of their fellow students for the 1962 restaurant boycott; Hopkins activists would be hard pressed to claim the same level of participation by that time. Two display cases at the Goucher library proudly depicting student activism on campus in the 1960s is more evidence of the difference.

The final aspect of white student activism at Goucher and Hopkins lay in the collaborative efforts of the two student bodies. As single-sex schools, they complemented each other socially during the 1960s. Goucher and Hopkins had developed strong ties well before the appearance of the civil rights movement, but student radicalism helped to cultivate the connections further. The primary organizational bond between activists at each school was the Hopkins/Goucher Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapter, formed in the early 1960s. It linked radicals from the schools, provided them with connections beyond Baltimore, suggested an agenda for its members, served as a formal contact for the Civic Interest Group, and revealed notable distinctions between black and white activists.

The SDS chapter consisted of both Goucher and Hopkins students from its inception. In 1960, Kim Moody and Claudia Robbins formed the Hopkins/Goucher Student Peace Union, which primarily focused on nuclear disarmament.[100] By 1962 the group had transformed itself into an SDS chapter, linking its members with students across the country. At the national convention that year, SDS issued the "Port Huron Statement," which marked the beginning of the rise of the New Left. The organization became the leading student radical group in the nation, focusing on multi-issue questions concerning civil rights, foreign policy, and domestic economic policy. The Hopkins/Goucher chapter was present for the early development of SDS, sending three members to national meetings by 1963, at which time Kim Moody was elected to the National Executive Council.[101]

National connections influenced SDS activity at Hopkins and Goucher by providing white student activists in Baltimore, and indeed across the nation, with a common agenda. It took social and political issues of the civil rights movement a step further, questioning how they affected the personal consciousness of Americans. Radicals like Tom Hayden and Mario Savio helped to formulate a theory of generational alienation that mourned the loss of what Doug Rossinow termed "the authentic" experience. In protesting the position of black citizens in American society, the civil rights movement suggested one meaning of alienation. The predominantly white New Left built on its experience in the civil rights movement, incorporating ideas about oppression from the struggle into radicalism on college

campuses. Hopkins/Goucher SDS members participated in this project, attracting national leaders to speak in Baltimore, including Tom Hayden in early 1964.[102]

For Baltimore civil rights activists outside of Hopkins and Goucher, SDS became an organizational contact. When CIG planned demonstrations, whites from Hopkins and Goucher who participated were overwhelmingly SDS members as well. During massive 1963 CIG demonstrations, it was SDS that wrote to the Hopkins *Newsletter* to rally support for the effort.[103] The former chair of the Baltimore CORE chapter, Ed Chance, recalled that SDS radicals were the only students from Hopkins or Goucher to participate in any of his group's demonstrations. SDS itself was closely tied to Levering Hall, where meetings were often held. In the first two years of the chapter, SDS membership ranged from fifteen to thirty students.[104]

The Hopkins/Goucher SDS, much like the national organization, focused on other issues in addition to civil rights, including nuclear disarmament, economic empowerment of the poor, and later, the Vietnam War. Local SDS involvement grew considerably as anti-war protesting increased, doubling membership by 1964. As head of CIG during the growth of SDS, Clarence Logan asserted that the Civic Interest Group would continue to focus exclusively on civil rights. He and other Morgan students supported many efforts of white students on other issues, but CIG's activism remained specifically targeted on the black freedom struggle.[105]

August Meier noted in 1963 that some white radicals in the movement saw the civil rights struggle as a gateway to "a more socialized America." They believed that it would provide the groundwork for radical social and structural changes in the country but found that in practice the movement was more about reform than revolution. This could certainly be said for many in SDS who saw potential in the movement when African-American unemployment became increasingly pressing. Though some civil rights activists also turned toward foreign policy concerns and others focused primarily on economic issues by the mid-1960s, white radicals used the growth of the New Left, not the movement, as the forum for such broad discussion.[106] This was true for Baltimore as well, where white and black student activists held ideological differences that were apparent in the contrasts between SDS and CIG agendas.

Breaking through the Barrier

February 1963 was one of the high points of student activism in the Baltimore civil rights movement, as the Civic Interest Group set out once again to desegregate the Northwood Theatre. By this time, all other businesses in the Northwood Shopping Center had integrated and the theater was the only segregated cinema in the area. This was in large part due to the activities of student protesters.[107] Eight years after initiating protests at the theater, Morgan students finally succeeded in the effort to desegregate.

The victory at the theater had its roots in a change in CIG strategy. The group decided before beginning the 1963 campaign that pickets alone would not be effective and embarked on a course of mass arrests. The plan had worked in the South in places like Albany, Georgia, and Louisville, Kentucky, to increase pressure on white business owners and political officials. Up to that point, CIG protests at Northwood had included few arrests. The group recruited Morgan State athletes, students in fraternities and sororities, and student council leaders, whose participation had historically been low but who would likely attract others. Student involvement had subsided leading up to the demonstrations, and such efforts were instrumental in revitalizing the Morgan student body. Meier speculated that "this struggle for equal rights was probably the first in history organized along the lines of a pep rally before a football game."[108]

On Friday, February 15, 1963, CIG held the first in the wave of protests in which fifty students picketed and twenty-five were arrested, one of whom was Miss Morgan of 1963. Over the weekend forty-three others were arrested. CIG held a meeting on Monday, February 18, which five hundred students attended. The early protests had done their job of drawing mass numbers of Morgan participants. Reverend Marion Bascom, chairman of CIG's Adult Assistance Committee and a leader in the African-American ministerial community, spoke at the meeting on the power of nonviolent protest. The committee had not supported mass arrests earlier in the campaign, but its endorsement cleared the way for the strategy's implementation. That night 151 students went to jail and over three hundred picketed at the theater.[109]

Students arrested on Monday night found that bail had been set at $600 for each participant. The Civic Interest Group would need a total of $90,200 to release all the students, an amount the group was initially unable to produce. The bail levels were an overt effort by Judge Joseph Finnerty and the state's attorney general's office to stop the demonstrations, but they had the opposite effect. On Tuesday night, February 19, spurred on by the punitive bail hike, students protested again. Police arrested 120 of their number and turned away at least a hundred more who had offered themselves for arrest because the jails were already at capacity. That night marked the first time that Hopkins and Goucher students participated in the demonstrations and arrests, a fact the *Baltimore Sun* noted in a headline. CIG had stumbled upon a new strategy of packing the jails as a way to put pressure on city officials as well as the theater owners, who still refused to negotiate.[110]

By Wednesday 350 students had been arrested in six days of protesting and over 250 men and women remained in jail. Pressure was building on both sides. The local white press gave the story considerable daily attention. The city faced a heavy burden in its jails and legal system. Business owners at the Northwood Shopping Center insisted that the theater owners integrate; the demonstrations were keeping away their regular customers, who had accepted desegregation. Mayor

Philip Goodman, two weeks away from a primary election, responded to the pressure by meeting with the theater owners, CIG leaders, and city and state officials for two hours. The theater management offered to negotiate integration after a five-week cooling off period during which CIG would cease demonstrating. The students rejected the offer outright. That night seventy-five additional students were arrested while five hundred picketed. Several more Goucher women and Hopkins men went to jail.[111]

The Civic Interest Group felt pressure from those remaining in jail who had been completely unprepared for incarceration. They reported feeling used by CIG leadership and had little knowledge of how the demonstrations were progressing. CIG, of course, was also surprised by the high bail amounts. The group, receiving no financial support from the NAACP, endeavored to raise the money independently but then faced internal disagreements about strategy when the bail sum had been collected. Though it had left fellow students in the city lock-up, the jail packing strategy had been effective. Morgan's president, Martin Jenkins, concerned about repercussions from state officials, had threatened August Meier's job and considered expelling CIG leaders. During this time, competition between student and adult activists reappeared as well. According to Clarence Logan, Baltimore CORE attempted to set up negotiations with the theater owners without CIG's consent or knowledge. Logan learned of the meeting from a CORE member and arrived in time to inform both the owners and the rival organization that CORE did not represent the students.[112]

With both sides nearing a breaking point, the conflict was resolved on Thursday, February 21. In another meeting at the mayor's office, President Jenkins ensured theater officials that the entire Morgan State student body seemed poised to go to jail within days. Furthermore, the *Afro-American* reported that CIG had contacted students from around the country to come to Baltimore and that seven hundred Goucher women stood ready to protest. Though these claims were almost certainly exaggerated, the potential for further extended disruptions was very real. The theater owners offered to release the jailed students in return for the cooling off period, but CIG again turned them down. By Thursday afternoon the mayor and theater owners had finally had enough and announced that they would integrate the next day. Almost 350 students, including eight from Hopkins and nine from Goucher, were released from jail and later had all charges against them dismissed.[113]

The Northwood Theatre victory was in many ways the culmination of the Civic Interest Group's activism and student involvement in Baltimore civil rights. The massive demonstrations opened the way for further mass arrest efforts by adult organizations, such as the July 1963 CORE-led effort at Gwynn Oak Park. The six nights of protests in February 1963 were impressive, but perhaps not as impressive as eight years of sustained efforts before. CIG leaders used their knowledge of the Morgan student body to find effective strategies to build mass support

for arrests. Their experience had prepared them for the campaign. Media coverage during the week had also played a role in CIG's success. National television networks covered the Wednesday night demonstrations and the release of students from jail on Thursday; the *New York Times* reported on CIG's victory on Friday. Baltimore civil rights work received national attention for perhaps the first time.[114]

The protests were also a notable example of the involvement of whites from Goucher and Hopkins. Several members of the Goucher faculty picketed at Northwood. Their presence attracted even more media attention, and underscored a division in the city's white community. They revealed that there were parts of the local white power structure, in which Hopkins and Goucher were included, that supported desegregation. This pattern was also evident at Gwynn Oak Park when white religious luminaries protested and were arrested.[115] The mayor's role in mediating an agreement illustrated the nature of Baltimore as a border city that contained aspects of both the North and South. Events surrounding Northwood Theatre were symbolic of many aspects local student activism.

Just as the desegregation of Northwood Theatre marked a high point of student involvement in Baltimore civil rights, it was also the beginning of significant changes in the local movement and for national activists and student radicals more generally. Morgan State students had targeted the Northwood Shopping Center for over eight years and finally desegregated all businesses by 1963. The presence of discrimination so close to campus had been a motivating force with which to rally Morgan students, but that incentive was lost with the Northwood victories. Shortly afterward, state and federal politicians began debating legislation that made it illegal to deny customers service based on race. The 1964 Maryland Public Accommodations Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, though weak in some respects, finally provided legitimate legal support to desegregationists.[116] For the Civic Interest Group, an organization Clarence Logan described as a purely integrationist civil rights coalition, this time marked a climax of years of struggle—and the beginning of the end of that struggle.

In the national movement, the pressing issues generally shifted from desegregating public accommodations to attacking the powerful but less ostensible obstacles to equality for African Americans. In particular this meant more attention to economic disparity and structural racism. The South ceased to be the only battle ground for civil rights, since both types of problems were entrenched in the North as well. By 1965, SNCC had begun to cut ties with white activists and moved toward a philosophy of black power. The group's commitment to nonviolence waned as leaders began to advocate armed self-defense. Adult activists exhibited similar patterns, focusing increasingly on employment and housing discrimination. CORE, for example, aimed at community organization in American cities in 1964. In 1966 the organization created the Baltimore Target City Project which

was meant to pioneer a new form of civil rights activism. The group organized a union of black laborers, attempted to redistrict the city, and started tenant groups to improve housing conditions. Such efforts met little widespread success, both in Baltimore and across the country.[117]

White student activists also began to shift their focus after 1963, concentrating increasingly on multi-issue concerns and the Vietnam War. At Berkeley student radicals explicitly tied themselves with the civil rights movement both in rhetoric and action. The Free Speech Movement of 1964 grew out of Berkeley students' involvement in summer civil rights activism.[118] As African Americans in the civil rights movement sought to control its agenda and strategy, white radicals turned to groups like SDS that, while aligned with the goals of the movement, maintained a broader focus as well. Consequently, more white students became radicalized and concerned about civil rights. Their energy, however, was simultaneously directed away from the movement toward anti-Vietnam and nuclear disarmament efforts.

In Baltimore these changes were apparent in many ways. The Civic Interest Group slowly lost its prominent role in the local civil rights milieu. Its leaders did not follow the course toward black power as did many other African-American student activists. CIG continued its demonstrations on the Eastern Shore after the Northwood Theatre victory and established a manpower training and employment program in Cambridge in conjunction with the Labor Department. The success of CIG's work, however, led to the development of local activism. The Civic Interest Group helped to create effective grassroots movements that replaced its own role on the Shore. The growth of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee is the most striking example of this. CNAC followed the SNCC progression toward black power on its own, leaving CIG, conservative by comparison, behind.[119] In Baltimore student activists had succeeded in wide-scale integration. Though the 1964 Maryland Public Accommodation Act did not cover all of the state's counties, it did affect Baltimore. The Civic Interest Group lost its importance for the local movement and Baltimore students in part because it had been so effective. As a purely integrationist force, unwilling to make radical changes in strategy toward separatism like SNCC or CORE, the Civic Interest Group had achieved many of its goals.

At Morgan State student activism began to take on a different look. One change was that August Meier left the college at the beginning of the 1963–64 school year. Though CIG had formed before his arrival and survived after he left, his absence had a detrimental effect on the group. He had been a stable presence for several years in a student organization which, by its fluid nature, was unstable. Cliff Durand received his doctorate from Hopkins in 1963 and began to teach at Morgan State during the next school year. He helped to form a group called DISSENT that focused on issues directly affecting the campus, including some anti-military activism. Students in DISSENT protested the presence of the ROTC corps on cam-

Several hundred students in this 1963 demonstration served time in the city jail for their participation. (Baltimore News-American *photograph. University of Maryland, College Park.*)

pus, made a push for more state funding for black colleges, and petitioned the administration for new facilities.[120] Civil rights activism at Morgan had set the precedent for students to be leaders. They, like many white student radicals, took the lessons from the movement and delved into other areas of activism.

The Hopkins/Goucher SDS chapter helped to lead the way into anti-Vietnam war protest and multi-issue campaigns. The national organization created a division called the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), in which SDS members in Baltimore were involved. In 1964 they organized the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN) in the city and maintained a heavy focus on economic and labor issues. Goucher activists established a hub in Baltimore City that served as a tutoring center for area youth and coffee house for student radicals. Levering Hall continued to be a focal point for white student activism. Chester Wickwire and his staff brought speakers like Martin Luther King, Bayard Rustin, and Caesar Chavez to campus. They organized a "Truth Squad" of picketers to follow George Wallace when he spoke in Baltimore. Nuclear disarmament, draft protests, and the Vietnam War were regular topics of discussion as well.[121]

Beginning in 1964, students at Baltimore schools that had been inactive in the civil rights movement suddenly became increasingly involved. Robert Watts, a catholic himself, remembered that there were no students from the area Catholic colleges, Loyola and Notre Dame of Maryland, that attended CIG protests. Until late 1963 the campus newspapers at these schools barely made a mention of the civil rights movement, attending solely to school sports and social events. Nineteen sixty-four brought a brief period of increased concern about the movement, but it was not until 1966 that the campuses became significantly political. After that time the newspapers contained discussions of issues like civil rights and Vietnam and even politicized the internal dynamics of the schools by criticizing student council and administration policies. Loyola and Notre Dame formed a group called Loyola Students for Social Action (LSSA) in 1966. The extent of its activism was to bring speakers onto campus and take students to community centers in Baltimore. In 1968 twenty-five Notre Dame women created Campus Action for Racial Equality (CARE), which followed the relatively mild path of activism taken by LSSA.[122]

Towson students had been slightly more conscious of the world of activism through their involvement with the National Student Association (NSA), a group that had pressed campuses across the country to step down from the symbolic ivory tower of colleges and universities. This awareness, however, led to little more activism than what was found at Loyola or Notre Dame. In 1961 and 1962, the Towson *Towerlight* newspaper carried some discussion about civil rights protests, and by the end of 1963 the paper had articles about the movement almost weekly. It was not until spring 1967, after several years of public discussion, that Towson students launched a campaign against two restaurants in the area that still refused service to African Americans. Towson's SDS chapter, formed in 1968, brought speakers from the Baltimore Black Panthers to campus. Towson student activism was heated where the Vietnam War was concerned; in 1969 students took over the campus switchboard to protest draft policy.[123]

These instances of activism at Loyola, Notre Dame, and Towson illustrate the gap between their involvement and that of Morgan, Hopkins, and Goucher students. After the 1963 Northwood victory the face of established student activism changed in Baltimore. Students who had been involved shifted their focus, and newly concerned radicals tried to catch up. This pattern was apparent in part because the fragmentation in Baltimore's student population clearly marked the arrival of new student activists.

The Benefits of Fragmentation

The Baltimore civil rights struggle, and its student involvement in particular, touches upon relatively unexplored themes of the movement's history. Local ac-

tivism by adults and students alike set it apart from the traditional narrative that began with Martin Luther King's 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, was redirected by the 1960 Greensboro sit-ins, and began to come apart as African Americans saw their progress lead to further struggles against a racism that became more elusive but just as powerful. Baltimore activists began building African American–led institutions to fight racism before a coherent national movement was born. These adult organizations provided the foundation for the birth of student involvement. Located in a border state, the local movement faced less resistance from whites than it would have in the Deep South and received some support from politicians. Its history highlights the importance of local politics and social structure for reform. The movement's progress was incremental, utilized strategies that predated those used in other cities and in the national struggle, and spanned well over thirty years.

Internally, the Baltimore civil rights structure exhibited other important variations on the traditional narrative. It lacked the intensity of generational, organizational, and racial conflict found in other quarters of the movement. Though adults and students alike tried to assert what they perceived to be their own rights to power, their differences were hardly a crippling obstacle to success. The two groups built on each other's work and were open to critical moments of collaboration. The formation of the Civic Interest Group, perhaps viewed as problematic by established adult organizations, helped to avoid conflicts with adults at Morgan, Hopkins, and Goucher. Competition between civil rights groups such as CORE and CIG caused tension between activists, but also contributed to the development of the movement as organizations tried to lay claim to their achievements. Conflict between black and white activists, especially in the student movement, was minimal. African Americans welcomed white support, and whites generally followed black leadership. The fragmentation of students among several colleges in the city also failed to paralyze activism. CIG bridged the Morgan, Hopkins, and Goucher campuses and spurred further separate white activism.

After 1963 the path of civil rights activism would change, both nationally and in Baltimore. Ideology, which had been relatively muted earlier in the local movement, became more important for civil rights reformers. This led to greater divisions between black and white activists across the nation and indeed in Baltimore as well. Goals such as desegregation and interracial cooperation gave way to the fight against broad structural and economic manifestations of racism. Student activists in Baltimore led the way through the movement's first stage but found themselves marginalized by comparison afterward.

NOTES

1. In several influential works on the civil rights movement there is almost no mention of Baltimore: David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1986); Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1988); David Chappell, *Inside Agitators: White Southerners in the Civil Rights Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965). Anderson mentions the *Afro-American* newspaper, based in Baltimore, on three pages; Branch includes two pages on an interracial meeting of Baptist ministers in Baltimore in late 1960 (339–40). Virtual omission of Baltimore from Branch's work is particularly significant because he lives in the area and even teaches a course on the civil rights movement at Goucher College and Morgan State University; John Ditmer, *Local People* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994).
2. Leroy Graham, *Baltimore: The Nineteenth Century Black Capital* (New York: University Press of America, 1982), 252. Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, *An American City in Transition: The Baltimore Community Self-Survey of Inter-Group Relations* (1955) Appendix D; W. Edward Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore: The Edmonson Village Story* (Louisville: University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 19.
3. Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 520; Karen Olson, "Old West Baltimore," in Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman, eds., *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 64.
4. Harold A. McDougall, *Black Baltimore: A New Theory of Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 10. Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*, 69; Olson, "Old West Baltimore," 69; Andor Skotnes, "'Buy Where You Can Work': Boycotting for Jobs in African-American Baltimore, 1933–1934," *Journal of Social History*, 27 (1994): 735–61.
5. Olson, "Old West Baltimore," 68–69; Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*, 69–71; Laurence N. Krause, R. C. Monk, and Lenora Heilig Nast, *Baltimore: A Living Renaissance* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1982), 98; McDougall, *Black Baltimore*, 127.
6. Kim Moody, telephone interview by author, September 28, 1998. August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942–1968* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 4–10.
7. August Meier, *A White Scholar and the Black Community, 1945–1965: Essays and Reflections* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 125. Clarence Logan, unedited personal notes in possession of author. Logan was the chairman of CIG from December 1960 to January 1964 and served as an adult advisor in the years afterward.
8. Logan, notes; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Five Star Edition), February 24, 1948. The local edition of the *Afro-American* should be distinguished from the national publication. The Baltimore edition was published twice weekly as the "Five Star" on Tuesdays and the "Late City" on Saturdays; they are now generally retained on separate microfilm reels.
9. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), May 9, 1953. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 57.
10. Vernon Edward Horn, "Integrating Baltimore: Protest and Accommodation, 1945–1963" (MA thesis, University of MD, College Park, 1991), 77.
11. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 78–83; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 57.
12. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), May 9, 1953.
13. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 57.

14. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 80, 84, 102; Meier, *A White Scholar*, 119.
15. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 86.
16. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 70.
17. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 95.
18. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter*, May 6, 1955.
19. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Five Star Edition), April 30, 1955; *Baltimore News-Post*, April 29, 1955; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 89; *Johns Hopkins Newsletter*, May 6, 1955.
20. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 90.
21. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter*, May 6, 1955.
22. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), May 21 and 28, 1955; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 94.
23. Clarence Logan, letter to author, February 7, 1999; Logan, notes.
24. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), May 14, 1955; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 91.
25. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), May 7, 1955.
26. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 92; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), May 21, 1955.
27. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 93.
28. Ibid., 95.
29. Ditmer, *Local People*, 64; Meier, *A White Scholar*, 199.
30. Negro Undergraduates at Johns Hopkins: 1944–1964," September 15, 1964, Office of the President records, Johns Hopkins University Library; Irene M. Davis to Ross Jones, September 15, 1964, Office of the President records, Johns Hopkins University Library.
31. Chester Wickwire, interview by author, tape recording, Towson Maryland, February 19, 1997; Charles Capper, interview by author, telephone, April 18, 1997; Alan Smith, interview by author, telephone, April 10, 1997; Ira Remsen to Professor Metcalf at Fisk University, February 14, 1910, Office of the President records, Johns Hopkins University Library.
32. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter*, May 20, 1955.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), May 28, 1955; "Racial Discrimination and Johns Hopkins," Hopkins Committee for Basic Freedoms, November 17, 1965, Office of the Chaplain records, Johns Hopkins University Library.
36. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter*, April 18, 1958.
37. Ibid., April 24, 1959, May 1, 1959, October 7, 1955, April 18, 1958.
38. "Americans for Democratic Action Papers, 1932–1965," McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park.
39. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter*, December 2, 1955.
40. "Americans for Democratic Action Papers, 1932–1965," series 8, number 94.
41. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter*, November 4, 1955, May 25, 1956.
42. Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 53–64.
43. Ibid., 88–96; Martin Kuhlman, "Direct Action at the University of Texas During the Civil Rights Movement, 1960–1965," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 98 (1995): 559.
44. Smith interview; Capper interview; Wickwire, 1997 interview.
45. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter*, March 23, 1956.
46. Ibid., April 29, 1955; Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity*, 54.
47. Chester Wickwire, interview by author, tape recording, Towson, Maryland, October 31,

1998. The concert passed without incident, and Levering Hall sponsored several others. They were the only integrated concerts at the time in Baltimore.

48. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 120, 203.

49. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), March 21 and 28, 1959; *Baltimore News-Post,* March 19, 1959.

50. William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 71–101; Branch, *Parting the Waters,* 272–78; Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 188. Morris's failure to note Baltimore among the cities with pre-1960 sit-ins illustrates just how marginal the local movement has been to scholars, even those researching beyond the dominant narratives of the movement. Attention is also given to the spring 1960 sit-ins across the South by Emily Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: The Growth of Radicalism in a Civil Rights Organization* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc, 1989); David Garrow, *Atlanta, Georgia, 1960–1961* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc, 1989); David Chappell, *Inside Agitators: White Southerners in the Civil Rights Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity.*

51. Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee,* 7.

52. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), February 6, 1960, February 27, 1960, March 5, 1960, March 19, 1960, April 9, 1960, May 14, 1960.

53. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* February 19 and 26, 1960; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), February 27, 1960; *Baltimore Sun,* February 23, 1960; *Baltimore News-Post,* February 23, 1960; Wickwire, 1997 interview.

54. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* April 18, 1958; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), February 27, 1960.

55. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* April 29, May 20, 1960.

56. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), March 19, 1960; *Baltimore News-Post,* March 16, 1960; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 96.

57. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 121; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 96; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), April 2, 1960; Clarence Logan, interviews by author, telephone, November 4, and December 8, 1998.

58. Logan, notes; *Baltimore Afro-American,* March 26, 1960 (Late City Edition), April 5 and 12, 1960 (Five Star Edition); Meier, *A White Scholar,* 120–22; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 96–97; Logan, interviews; Robert Watts, Maryland ACLU, interview, videocassette, May 3, 1998.

59. This directly contradicts the claims of George Callcott in his book *Maryland and America, 1940–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) who erroneously stated (154) that it was the victory at the Northwood sit-ins that encouraged the students to move downtown. Robert Brugger also makes this suggestion in *Maryland, A Middle Temperament,* 608. In fact, it was the move downtown that resulted in Hecht-May's desegregation of the Rooftop Dining Room in April 1960. Furthermore, both scholars neglect to mention the Civic Interest Group by name anywhere in their work, instead pointing to the efforts of a vaguely organized group of Morgan, Hopkins, and Goucher students. Clarence Logan observed in his personal notes that historical research on the Baltimore movement "lacked specificity and accuracy to the extent that it generalizes the 1960s student civil rights activities in Maryland." Callcott and Brugger's research illustrates this point.

60. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 122; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 97; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), April 2, 1960.

61. Watts, ACLU interview; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), April 9, 1960, (Five Star Edition), April 19, 1960; Meier, *A White Scholar,* 122–24; Logan, interviews; *Baltimore Sun,* April 17, 1960.
62. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 124.
63. Ibid., 196, 203.
64. Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 99; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), April 23 and 30, 1960, (Five Star Edition), May 10, 1960; Watts, ACLU interview; Logan, notes.
65. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Five Star Edition), June 7, 1960; Logan, notes. Mount Lebanon Baptist Church was located at 2320 Reistertown Road.
66. Watts, ACLU interview; *Baltimore Sun,* November 13, 1994; Robert Bell, interview by author, telephone, October 19, 1998; Logan, notes; Logan, interviews.
67. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), July 2, 9, 13, and 23, 1960; Logan, notes.
68. *Baltimore Afro-American,* April 30, August 13, 1960 (Late City Edition), August 16, 1960 (Five Star Edition); Logan, notes; Logan, interviews.
69. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), October 8, 1960; Logan, notes.
70. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), July 16, 1960; Logan, interviews and notes; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 99–100. Logan remembered that Clarence Mitchell III was sitting with him while his father was in the front of the room. Even the younger Mitchell, however, apparently did not know the purpose for which the meeting had been called. Dr. Murphy's position was such that the students need not know what the meeting was for in order to realize they should attend.
71. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 26, 157–60, 172, 174; Carson, *In Struggle,* 24–25; Zinn, *SNCC,* 34; Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee,* 266; Branch, *Parting the Waters,* 291–93.
72. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), July 16, August 6, October 8, November 12, 1960; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 100; Logan, notes.
73. *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), August 6, 1960.
74. Carson, *In Struggle,* 40; Logan, notes, interviews; Meier, *A White Scholar,* 29; *Baltimore Sun,* July 16, 1961. It was not surprising, to many in the movement at least, that King was the center of the media's focus at the SNCC meeting. The *Sun* devoted nearly its entire article to reporting on his presence and speech at the conference. In *A White Scholar,* Meier comments extensively on King's role in the movement (29–30, 212–22) and noted as early as 1965 that for several years students had been the "real spearhead of direct action in most of the South . . . while SCLC has received most of the publicity and most of the money."
75. Carson, *In Struggle,* 39, 41, 42; Branch, *Parting the Waters,* 487; Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee,* 177–88, 268–69, 273.
76. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights,* 155–57.
77. Logan, notes.
78. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE,* 162–63; Logan, interviews, notes; Moody, interview; Cliff Durand, interviews by author, tape recording, Baltimore, Maryland, October 27 and November 12, 1998; Karen Olson, interview by author, tape recording, Baltimore, Maryland, October 20, 1998; Solomon Baylor, interview by author, telephone, December 3, 1998. Durand was a graduate student at Hopkins from 1960 to 1963. Karen Olson was an undergraduate at Goucher between 1961 and 1965. Solomon Baylor is a prominent African American figure in Baltimore who served for many years as a judge in the city and helped cultivate student activism at Morgan State in the early to mid-1950s. All were active in the Baltimore movement, and particularly with the Civic Interest Group. Meier and Rudwick's claims are well documented by media sources and personal communications between participating activists.

79. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 162–63; Meier, *A White Scholar*, 26; *Baltimore Sun*, November 1961, December 17, 196 ; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Five Star Edition), November 4, 12, 14, 19, and 21, and December 5, 1961; Logan, notes, interviews.

80. Meier, *A White Scholar*, 173. Logan supported this position on the competition between CORE and CIG in his notes and interview.

81. Logan, interview. Of the Route 40 protests, George Callcott stated in *Maryland and America* that "Many students were disappointed to be denied arrest for a noble cause and a group from Hopkins, Goucher and Morgan rallied to lament their easy triumph and to look for new frontiers. Here was the essence of a revolution: the movement was outrunning its participants, victories were coming faster than the proponents could handle them." In this passage, Callcott displays a one-dimensional understanding of Baltimore student activists. They did not see the CORE agreement as a "victory," nor were they simply looking for an occasion to flout authority as Callcott suggests. I believe that a detailed investigation into the student movement in Baltimore bears out its participants' commitment to their social goals, not to a form of adolescent rebellion.

82. Logan, notes; *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 2, 1962 (Five Star Edition), January 6, 1962 (Late City Edition); *Baltimore Sun*, January 16 and 31, 1961; *Baltimore News-Post*, January 19, 20, 22, and 23, 1962; *Baltimore News-Post*, January 20 and 22, 1962; Bell, interview; Durand, interview; *Baltimore Sun*, January 31, 1962; Logan, notes. The Dorcester County Ministerial Association made a direct plea on January 19 to CIG to hold off further Cambridge protests; CIG rejected the request.

83. Durand, interview; Moody, interview; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), January 20, 1962.

84. Edward K. Trever, "Gloria Richardson and the Cambridge Civil Rights Movement, 1962–1964" (M.A. thesis, Morgan State University, 1994), 55. See also Peter Levy, "Civil War on Race Street: The Black Freedom Struggle and White Resistance in Cambridge, Maryland, 1960–1964," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 290–318; Peter Szabo, "An Interview with Gloria Richardson Dandridge," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 347–58; Sandra Millner, "Recasting Civil Rights Leadership: Gloria Richardson and the Cambridge Movement," *Journal of Black Studies*, 26 (1996): 668–87; Melanie Cook, "Gloria Richardson: Her Life and Work in SNCC," *Sage: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women*, (1988 supplement): 51–53.

85. Trever, "Gloria Richardson," 55–60; Logan, notes; Levy, "Civil War on Race Street," 292, 295, 298–99; Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 609–11; Zinn, *SNCC*, 8; Olson, interview; Callcott, *Maryland and America*, 160–62. Though it was one of the most contentious, violent, and protracted sites of tension in the country, Cambridge, like Baltimore, has drawn little scholarly attention. Peter Levy suggests in his article "Civil War on Race Street," that this may be in part due to the town's failure to fit the traditional model of the civil rights movement in several ways. First, CNAC was unique as a chapter of SNCC in that it relied heavily on student protesters while being led by adults. In Gloria Richardson, CNAC's chair, Cambridge also had a peerless leader in that she was an uncompromising, aggressive strategist and a woman. The town's struggle, like Baltimore's, defied the popular triumphalist narrative. For over six years, Cambridge experienced periodic race rioting, including a series during the summer 1963 protests, one after an H. Rap Brown speech in 1967 (transcript available at the Maryland State Archives, "Documents for the Classroom," MSA SC 2221-12-8-1), and another after Martin Luther King's assassination in 1968. In the interim the town lived under national guard watch for over two years. There was no clean resolution to this period in the town's history.

86. John Higham, *Civil Rights and Social Wrongs* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 3–30, 179–90.
87. Durand, interview; Moody, interview; Capper, interview; Olson, interview; Susan Weiss, interview by author, telephone, January 28, 1999; Meier, *A White Scholar,* 24, 28. It is somewhat odd that Carmichael and the NAG activists could see Meier in a backseat role to Morgan student leadership because in some instances his strategies and ideas influenced the direction of the group. Meier wrote that once they came to see his role in this way, however, Carmichael and his colleagues tended to dismiss the notion that Meier had any real control.
88. Durand, interview; Moody, interview.
89. *Goucher Weekly,* November 4, 1960; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Five Star Edition), November 1, 1960. Watts, ACLU interview. The exact protest to which the story refers is unclear. *Goucher Weekly,* November 10, 1961; *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* December 8, 1961; Logan, notes.
90. Durand, interview; Smith, interview; *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* October 7, 1960, September 27 and November 3, 1961; Wickwire, 1997 interview; "Racial Discrimination and Johns Hopkins," November 17, 1965.
91. Wickwire, 1997 interview; Capper, interview; "Racial Discrimination and Johns Hopkins," November 17, 1965.
92. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* February 12, September 30, and October 12, 1960, February 17, October 6, and November 10, 1961.
93. Smith, interview.
94. Levering Hall information packet, kept by Chester Wickwire, copy in possession of author; Wickwire, interviews; Bell, interview; Olson, interview.
95. *Goucher Weekly,* January 26, April 13 and 26, 1962.
96. *Goucher Weekly,* October 19 and 26, 1962, October 25, 1963; Olson, interview; *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* November 4, 1960.
97. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* November 4, 1960; Durand, interview; Moody, interview; Capper, interview.
98. Olson, interview; Wickwire, interviews.
99. Weiss, interview; *Goucher Weekly,* October 20, February 10, 1961, October 1 and 6, 1963; Olson, interview; Durand, interview; Wickwire, interviews.
100. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* January 13, 1961.
101. Mitchell Cohen and Dennis Hale, ed., *The New Student Left: An Anthology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), 9–16, includes an essay by Kim Moody, "Can the Poor Be Organized?" 147–53; "1963 SDS National Convention Report," FBI File on SDS/WUO, Microfilm reel 1. The roster lists Moody, Diane Ofstrofsky, and Arthur Cheswick as JHU/Goucher representatives.
102. Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity,* 3–8; Mario Savio, Eugene Walker and Raya Dunayevskaya, *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* (Detroit: News & Letters, 1965); Carson, *In Struggle,* 52–54. See also Tom Hayden, *Repression and Rebellion* (New York: Meridian, 1969); Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer: The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987); Irving Howe, ed., *The Radical Imagination* (New York: The New American Library, 1967); Melvin Small and William Hoover, eds., *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Antiwar Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992); Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 1988); *Goucher Weekly,* January 24 and 31, 1964; Weiss, interview.
103. *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* February 22, 1963.

104. Moody, interview; Olson, interview; Capper, interview; Weiss, interview; Durand, interview; Ed Chance, interview by author, tape recording, Baltimore, Maryland, April 9, 1997; Wickwire, interviews.
105. Capper, interview; Moody, interview; Logan, interviews.
106. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 182–84. Moody, interview. According to Moody, Carmichael organized an anti-Vietnam war protest while still with the Howard University–based Nonviolent Action Group (NAG).
107. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 162.
108. Ibid., 138, 143–44, 196; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement,* 241–42; Carson, *In Struggle,* 55–62.
109. *Baltimore Sun,* February 18 and 19, 1963; Meier, *A White Scholar,* 139, 196; Marion Bascom, interview by author, tape recording, Baltimore, Maryland, March 6, 1997.
110. *Baltimore Sun,* February 20, 1963; Meier, *A White Scholar,* 140–41; Logan, notes.
111. *Baltimore Sun,* February 21, 1963; Meier, *A White Scholar,* 140–41; Logan, notes.
112. Logan, notes, interviews; Meier, *A White Scholar,* 140–47, 197.
113. *Baltimore Sun,* February 22, 1963; *Baltimore Afro-American* (Late City Edition), February 23, 1963; *Afro-American* (National Edition), March 2, 1963; *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* March 1, 1963; Meier, *A White Scholar,* 142–43; Horn, "Integrating Baltimore," 103.
114. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 140, 147; *New York Times,* February 23, 1963.
115. *Baltimore Sun,* February 21, July 5, 6, and 7, 1963; *New York Times,* July 5 and 7 1963; Krause, Monk, and Nast, *Baltimore: A Living Renaissance,* 91.
116. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 162, Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire: American in the King Years, 1963–65* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 384, 388–89; Logan, notes.
117. Carson, *In Struggle,* 232–35, 299; Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee,* 15–17; John Lewis with Michael D'Orso, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 370–73. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE,* 360–66, 409–12; Louis Goldberg, "CORE in Trouble: A Social History of the Organizational Dilemmas of the Congress of Racial Equality Target City Project in Baltimore, 1965–7" (Ph.D diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1970); Congress of Racial Equality Target City Project, "Soul Book" (1966).
118. Savio, Walker and Dunayevskaya, *Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution,* 15–19; Nathan Glazer, *Remembering the Answers* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970), 73–77; "Berkeley in the Sixties," prod. and dir. Mark Kitchell, 118 min, P.O.V. Theatrical Films, 1990, videocassette.
119. Logan, interviews, notes; *Baltimore Sun,* September 17, 1963; Levy, "Civil War on Race Street," 297–99; Trever, "Gloria Richardson," 55; Callcott, *Maryland and America,* 160–63.
120. Meier, *A White Scholar,* 33, Durand, interview; Bell, interview; *Baltimore News-American,* April 3, 1968; *Baltimore Afro-American,* April 23, 1968.
121. Moody, interview; Olson, interview; *Goucher Weekly,* October 16, 1964; Wickwire, 1997 interview; *Johns Hopkins Newsletter,* April 24, October 2, 1964, January 15, March 25, May 14, 1965.
122. Watts, ACLU interview. Loyola *Greyhound,* 1958–1970; Notre Dame *Columns,* 1958–1970.
123. Towson *Towerlight,* 1958–1970.

Book Reviews

Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Postemancipation Maryland. By Richard Paul Fuke. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999. 331 pages. $39.95 cloth; $19.95 paper.)

On November 1, 1864, eighty thousand black Marylanders became free, as a new state constitution abolished slavery. In *Imperfect Equality,* Richard Fuke relates ensuing struggles among freedpeople, and white radicals and conservatives, to define freedom's meaning in Maryland during the 1860s. The product of three decades of research and writing by a fine scholar, *Imperfect Equality* will enlighten anyone interested in Maryland's distinctive adjustment to black emancipation.

Maryland's experience differed from that of the Confederacy. Half of its African Americans had been free before the Civil War, and whites had ended slavery during the war on their own initiative. But like its southern counterparts, Maryland's ex-slaveholders quickly devised new ways to control black labor and maintain white supremacy. Sharecropping contracts that generated indebtedness figured prominently in continued efforts to command black agricultural labor. Planters also bound three thousand children of ex-slaves as apprentices in the wake of emancipation, both to exploit children's labor and to exert leverage on parents.

Blacks fought back, enlisting allies in the Freedmen's Bureau and courts to end involuntary apprenticeships, and pooling resources to rent or buy land rather than sharecropping. Freedpeople also looked to education as a pathway out of dependence, donating labor and cash to build schools, despite white hostility manifested in schoolhouse burnings.

If emancipation in southern Maryland or the Eastern Shore resembled the southern experience, a different pattern obtained in Baltimore. A pre-war black population of twenty-seven thousand swelled to over forty thousand by 1870, as the newly freed relocated to find jobs and unite families. In addition, African Americans expanded a network of churches and schools, and created new organizations ranging from the Douglass Institute to volunteer military companies like the Lincoln Zouaves. Blacks also formed Republican Clubs and worked with white radicals to win the vote for African Americans. But white resistance thrived in Baltimore, too. White workers renewed "job busting" tactics, using strikes and violence to compel shipyards to fire black workers. With the exception of Isaac Myers' black-run Chesapeake Dry Dock Company, the post-war era remained one in which blacks seldom worked as artisans.

Fuke covers this tumultuous period deftly, depicting and analyzing white racial attitudes. For him, radicals and conservatives, despite clashes, shared doubts about black capacities that severely limited possibilities for a racially equal society. Conservatives saw blacks as innately inferior, incapable of working without the "discipline" of slavery, and lacking the ability to exercise the privileges of citizenship. Excluding blacks from voting, sitting on juries, or for that matter, owning land or performing skilled labor simply reflected a foreordained outcome.

Radicals skewered such claims as hypocritical: "If a man can beat another in a race, why insist on tying a weight to the legs of his competitor?", asked Hugh Lennox Bond, a leading Republican (230). Radicals, however, also understood free people of color through the lens of slavery. Free blacks were a degraded people because slavery had taught them idleness. Blacks needed to learn to labor and to understand contracts and property. Radicals favored black education and improvement, but chiefly for its putative benefits to whites: educated blacks would be less of a drag on economic growth than illiterate ones. These competing generalizations shared negative assessments of black character that blended into white consensus against any dramatic change in black status. Fuke concludes that by 1868, blacks knew that self-help and self-reliance would be their only tools in achieving further economic or social progress.

Imperfect Equality is a lively account of a brief but critical period in Maryland's history. The book's deep examination of events from late 1864 to mid-1868 has, it must be said, the defects of its qualities. Fuke's treatment of the politics of race after 1864 could be buttressed with a discussion of the constitutional convention of 1864 and the ratification referendum. Similarly, one yearns to see more on white reactions to the advent of black voting after ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870. More significantly, Fuke's analysis of white racial attitudes gives relatively little weight to white perceptions of Maryland's pre-1864 free black population, and shifts over time in those perceptions, as laid out in work by Barbara Fields, Christopher Phillips, and this reviewer, for the period from the 1780s to the 1860s. While Fuke's characterizations of white attitudes in the 1860s are accurate, he could do more to place those attitudes in historical context. But these are minor criticisms of a strong and much-needed book that deepens our understanding of postbellum Maryland.

T. Steven Whitman
Mount Saint Mary's College

British Roots of Maryland Families. By Robert W. Barnes. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1999. 646 pages. Appendix, index. $50.00 cloth.)

Few persons who have seriously endeavored to trace their early Maryland ancestors are unfamiliar with the author's name because he has been at work in

that field for more than thirty-five years, has published many books related to it, and has been president of the foremost genealogical societies in the state. And to his credit, he has an impeccable reputation for adhering to proper documentation rather than accepting mere oral tradition. Hence it would be hard to find a more reliable compiler for *British Roots.*

His sources derive from a combination of the author's own extensive research and earlier work of pioneers in this field. His British sources comprise printed and manuscript genealogies, county histories, heraldic visitations, and recognized works on the peerage and landed gentry, as well as British and American scholarly periodicals. Sources here include land records, colonial court records, parish registers, and both printed and manuscript family histories. This combination notably extends Maryland genealogy beyond anything known before.

The text of *British Roots* usually traces families back two or more generations in the Mother Country and down two or more in Maryland, and it covers nearly 500 individuals and families in 487 pages. In a few cases where extended British genealogies are available, the author has incorporated them into the book. Families such as the Digges, Eltonheads, Fenwicks, Norwoods, and Warrens are carried back to the Middle Ages and one of them, the Norwoods, to the tenth century.

The only bone to be picked, and that a minor one as far as Maryland is concerned, has to do with the statement (452) that Gunnora, wife of William de Warenne, 1st Earl of Surrey, was the daughter of Gerbod the Fleming. This was a nineteenth- century theory given prominence by E. A. Freeman in his *Norman Conquest, 1869,* but discredited by later historians because William de Warenne stated in a charter to the Priory at Lewes that Gunnora was the daughter of the Conqueror, as did the Conqueror himself, in one to the monks of St. Pancras at Walton in Norfolk. Contemporary documentation like that is hard to ignore.

There are also some "Tentative Reconstructions" which are highly probable but not yet thoroughly documented. Purists may frown on them, but there is good precedent for this approach, in that it was used occasionally by Sir Anthony Wagner, late Garter King of Arms and a highly respected genealogist.

For each of the 119 (24.1 percent) settlers who were of armigerous descent, an armorial blazon (i.e., description in words) is provided and there is a helpful heraldic glossary as well. At the end is a full index of 150 pages containing some 20,000 names. These features, and the choice of typeface, make the book eminently user-friendly.

In addition to compiling the five hundred Maryland settlers, Mr. Barnes has analyzed the statistics so as to throw light upon their social strata and the geographical areas from which they came. Some fifty-eight (11 percent) of them were of royal descent. Some seventy-three (14.6 percent) had a clerical, professional, or mercantile background. Only twenty indentured servants and six con-

victs appear among the five hundred. As for geographical origins, the greatest number one hundred forty-eight (30 percent), came from London and the home counties. The next largest group, one hundred sixteen (25.5 percent), came from northern England, which may be the result of adverse economic conditions there. Ireland and Scotland together provided forty-two (8.2percent) of the five hundred.

In retrospect, one may hazard a guess that the long-awaited book will be well received. Mr Barnes has served present-day descendants of colonial Marylanders well, and it is to be hoped that the seed he has sown will bring forth abundant fruit in the future, in additional research and publication in this field.

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON
Sykesville, Maryland

The Business of Charity: The Woman's Exchange Movement, 1832–1900. By Kathleen Waters Sander. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998. 208 pages. Index. $16.95 paper.)

Kathleen Sander's monograph, *The Business of Charity: The Woman's Exchange Movement, 1832–1900*, records the history of the woman's exchange movement, growing from its founding as a single depository in Philadelphia in 1832, to a movement national in scope. Drawing on the histories of women, philanthropy, and business, she details the organizational history and philosophy of exchanges throughout the country. Sander argues that woman's exchanges offered women opportunities to participate in business as managers and entrepreneurs in the context of charity.

The woman's exchange movement began in 1832 as a modest attempt by a group of wealthy women in Philadelphia to help other women who had fallen on hard times. Through death or the financial ruin of their husbands, women who once resided in wealthy families found themselves in a difficult and embarrassing situation: they needed money. Such women were not raised to labor outside of the home, but many possessed considerable skills in needlework. Recognizing that their newly poor sisters needed help, the women organized the Philadelphia Depository, a retail outlet for women to anonymously contribute hand-made items—embroidery, sewing, and fancy works—that were sold on commission. Soon other depositories, or exchanges, opened in New Brunswick, New Jersey (1856), Cincinnati (1868), and Pittsburgh (1873). The earliest exchanges, Sander notes, were benevolent societies created to help "ladies" discreetly earn some income. Both their founders and clients came from within the sheltered enclaves of elite society.

The exchange movement took off in the 1880s when a new generation of benevolent society founders extended the opportunity to women from mid-

dling and working classes. Creating cross-class exchanges, however, was not easy. A turning point within the movement came in 1878 as a result of a disagreement among the founders and board of the Woman's Work Exchange and Decorative Art Society in Brooklyn, which eventually led to a split within the organization and the establishment of a separate exchange, the Exchange for Woman's Work, which opened in New York City. Candace Wheeler, a founding patron of the Brooklyn Decorative Art Society, had attended the 1876 World's Fair in Philadelphia, and was very impressed with the decorative work produced by Britain's Royal School of Art Needlework. She decided to set up a school, the Decorative Arts Society, to teach similar techniques to women in New York, thinking that it would help improve the status and value of women's artistic skills. She also set up an outlet, the Woman's Work Exchange, to sell on commission the goods they produced. Like other depositories, the Decorative Arts Society initially catered to upper-class women who needed to earn an income. Ironically, it was Wheeler herself who recognized that the society's focus on the "genteel poor" ignored the needs of middle- and working-class women, particularly of widows left destitute following the Civil War and the panics that followed. When other members disapproved of her suggestion to expand the clientele, Wheeler and her sympathizers split away and founded the New York Exchange, which sold goods made by women of all classes, so long as the items met the standards of the exchange.

Sander's study continues with an examination of the more than one hundred exchanges that opened throughout the country in the late nineteenth century. Most catered to the needs of middle- and working-class women. In fact, many of the exchanges founded in the 1880s and 1890s called themselves "industrial" exchanges. Sander's study ties their emergence to the far-reaching connections within the larger network of women's philanthropic associations, such as the WCA (later known as the YWCA), the WCTU, and the WEIU, as well as local associations. But while Sander focuses on local founders' zeal and their sense of Christian mission or calling to help women in need, readers may feel shortchanged by a class analysis that is not more sophisticated. Even within the narrow context of the exchange movement (for Sander does not propose to tie her work into a larger historiography of women's philanthropic, political or economic life) there is ample evidence of the dimensions of class and race, which is completely ignored. Indeed, Sander provides many ripe quotations by exchange founders on issues such as the lack of employment for women in their regions and on the role of business and industry in changing the nature of the family, but she rarely takes the opportunity to offer a critical analysis. Instead, Sander tends to catch the missionary spirit herself, often writing a too- celebratory account of exchange managers, their goals, and their success.

But in Sander's defense, her main focus is not on class or race but on the "business" of charity, as her title suggests. The bulk of her monograph details

the organizational framework of exchanges: managers, consignors, products, services, pricing, income, competition with department stores, retail space, inventory, fund raising, and advertising, to name a few. Most important to Sander was the opportunity both women managers and consignors had to participate in business activity. She details many managers, their techniques, and the ways they incorporated philanthropy and service, their "mission high," into dealing with consignors and the public who supported them. Managing an exchange, Sander writes, allowed women who were restricted by social conventions a visible and prestigious "association with a quasi-commercial enterprise" (80).

Less clear, however, are the business activities of consignors, and I find Sander's description of them as "entrepreneurs" both ahistorical and inaccurate. Women who created an object for sale, even though they retained the bulk of the profit (90 percent of the selling price), were not entrepreneurs, or even "in business," for they were neither in control of the transaction nor did they own any part of the process. In addition, there must have been some risks involved for women. Exchanges such as the Decorative Arts Society that offered vocational training gave women their supplies (a fact that is not in the book, but which I learned from the author after her presentation at the Berkshire Conference this June). Most consignors, however, used their own resources to make decorative embroidery, clothing, or baked goods. This meant that women, already in straightened financial circumstances, had to invest in fabric, sewing materials, or ingredients. Some must have lost money at the exchange, either because their items were returned unsold, or because of poor management of resources. Sander claims that some women earned enough as consignors to start their own businesses, however the percentage of women who did that was, in reality, probably very small.

One of the biggest shortfalls of the book is due to problems with the sources. Exchanges carefully guarded the identities of the women who submitted items sold on commission and subscriber lists were kept confidential, even amongst the exchange managers, to avoid favoritism and to protect women's privacy. (Clearly, however, not all women desired confidentiality, for patrons could request particular items, placing orders for a specific woman's work, while others sold their services, as calligraphers or music teachers for example.) Still, an analysis of the women who benefited monetarily from their submissions to the exchange is difficult, if not impossible.

However, a few exchanges published both the numbers of consignors on contract and the amounts paid annually in commissions. Managers frequently singled out individual consignors who earned significant profits, such as the woman who made more than one thousand dollars from selling pies. (Some exchanges operated tea-rooms and lunch counters, featuring foods sold on commission.) "Much to the delight of the managers, no doubt," Sander writes, "it

appears that many consignors earned respectable incomes" (107). Unfortunately the facts do not meet either exchange managers' or Sander's overall conclusion that the exchange was a weapon in a woman's battle to win financial independence (109). Sander relies too heavily on annual reports and success stories, for despite the noted success of certain individuals, the figures she presents in the appendices show that most exchanges paid average earnings at levels well below what women would need to sustain their households (less than eighty dollars per year). Furthermore, payment records varied widely. Both Albany and Utica, New York, for example, reported serving two hundred consignors, but while Albany paid out only $2,800 in commissions (an average of fourteen dollars each), Utica paid seven thousand dollars (thirty-five dollars each). Granted, there is no way for Sander to check the validity of either report, however she fails to investigate why one exchange might have done better or worse than another. And in no instance do the figures suggest that more than a few women could have used the exchange to become self-sufficient.

Despite my disagreement over how to interpret the evidence Sander presents, *The Business of Charity* is a well-researched and written history of a heretofore unknown organization. The current debate centering on the work of historians such as Wendy Gamber, Angel Kwolek-Folland, Kathy Peiss, and Mary Yeager has shown what a sticky endeavor it is to write of women and business, for there is no line that divides those who are merely "in business" from "entrepreneurs." Sander has made this ground even more uneven by showing how some women incorporated volunteerism and Christian mission into the business equation.

KATINA MANKO
University of Delaware

The First World War. By John Keegan. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999. 475 pages. Notes, bibliography, illustrations, maps, index. $35.00.)

Over the last several decades John Keegan, in no less than thirteen impressive and enthusiastically received volumes, has established himself as perhaps the preeminent military historian of our times. His fourteenth book, devoted entirely to that most puzzling of modem conflicts, World War I, has been eagerly anticipated both by scholars and by the reading public. Now, like the Star Wars "prequel," it is here at last, and what are we to make of it?

First of all, it is, like everything Keegan writes, highly readable, sometimes enthralling, sometimes, as in his meditation on the British cemeteries in France, deeply moving. It is also comprehensive. Every front on this truly global war is at least touched on, including East Africa, the Caucasus, and Tsingtao, though the coverage outside Europe is perfunctory and may serve best to point inter-

ested readers to more specialized studies like Byron Farwell's *The Great War in Africa*, which Keegan does little more than summarize for us. The vast battles of the Eastern Front receive considerably more attention, but it is clear that it is the Western Front that is the real focus of Keegan's interest, that he seems to have walked every step of the battlefields of France and Flanders (and of Gallipoli), climbed every ridge and measured every field of fire with his own incomparable eye for the geography of war. In his accounts of Verdun, the Somme, Gallipoli, the land itself becomes a major character in the story, to the immense benefit of the reader's grasp of the situation.

It must be understood, however, that Keegan's book is military history in the stricter sense of the term, and therefore a little disappointing. Keegan's war is not the whole war, the total war. It is the war of the soldiers, even, I must confess, of the generals. The kind of weaving together of battlefield and home front, of army and economy, military and political decisions, class structures, societies, and mentalities that one sees in such pathbreaking studies as Norman Stone's *The Eastern Front*, on Russia, Trevor Wilson's *The Myriad Faces of War*, on Britain, and most recently, Holger Herwig's *The First World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1914–1918*, is not attempted here, though Keegan cites all three with great respect and considerable frequency.

The First World War is, as I noted above, concerned primarily with the war of the generals, though from time to time "The Mask of Command" slips and we find ourselves in "the Face of Battle," with the ordinary Tommies and Fritzes, seeing things through their confused eyes and hearing their long extinguished voices. But Keegan has not set out to do a World War I version of Stephen Ambrose's *Citizen Soldiers*, so this is hardly a fault in the book, though perhaps a criticism of the book's title: *The First World War*. There is no subtitle to narrow the book's focus, so the readers' expectations are unlimited and many will find less than they hope of what they may be looking for.

The basic theme of the book, running through it from the outbreak of war to the Armistice, is a kind of technological gap which the era was unable to bridge, and into which the armies tumbled. Railroads, modern industry, conscripted armies of hitherto unimaginable size made possible the massing of men, guns, supplies of all kinds, through meticulous planning, at exactly the point the generals wanted them to be. But once the guns began to fire and the men to struggle forward, all control was lost. The railroads could deliver supplies to the front, but getting them beyond the railroad meant relying upon horses and wagons and men's backs. Even more important, in the absence of any effective communication between the advancing armies and the generals in the rear, no one, the generals least of all, knew what was actually happening. The fields of battle were too large to be overseen by a Napoleon or a Wellington, the cavalry was all but useless in a shell-pocked landscape dominated by machine guns,

telephone lines inevitably broke under the artillery bombardments, runners took hours. By the time a message made its way up the chain of command, it was useless; by the time an order reached the embattled men at the front it might as well have been enfolded in a fortune cookie for all its relevance to the situation.

Over and over again, as Keegan remorselessly shows, from the very onset of war, the elaborate plans went into motion like so many gigantic pieces of clockwork and inevitably broke down at the front. Not the tank but two way radio, argues Keegan, instantaneous communication between the front and the rear, the infantry and the artillery, was what could have prevented the stalemate of World War I.

Keegan is actually much kinder to the generals of the Great War than most historians have been. They lacked, he argues, the technology that would have enabled them to control events. While this is certainly true, it does not seem to justify the efforts of all the commanders in every army to attempt to compensate for their blindness by futile and terribly costly efforts to exert ever more complete control through more and more detail in planning, through orders that increasingly reflected a kind of dreamland that had nothing to do with the front. One is struck by the resemblance to the kinds of gamblers with a "system" one sees at Las Vegas or Atlantic City, who, the more they lose, the more they raise their bets. At least they aren't gambling with men's lives, as Haig and Ludendorff and the execrable Cardona were. The responsibility for these pointless expenditures of blood is by implication, shifted by Keegan onto the politicians, though Lloyd George tried desperately to talk Haig out of the Passchendaele horror, and when Petain took command in France after the mutinies, he shifted the French army into a defensive mode considerably more economical in lives without destroying the nation or eroding morale. Giving more control to subordinate commanders on the scene was also an option, though not one much explored, especially by the Allies. One could wish that Keegan had given more attention to the psychology of command. In the end, the British navy's relentless blockade may have contributed as much to the collapse of the Central Powers as the wastage of men and material at the front. In sum, Keegan explains why the stalemate came about but cannot justify the insanely repetitive efforts of the commanders to break out of it.

In conclusion, one must confess that this is a very good book. It isn't quite vintage Keegan, and it isn't the last word or the best book on the subject, but it is well worth reading. The problem with it is that it is basically an essay on the strategic reasons for stalemate to which have been attached all sorts of other material, mostly drawn from well-known published sources, in an effort to achieve an almost textbook-like comprehensiveness. One wonders if this was Keegan's choice or the publisher's. A comprehensive textbook on World War I is certainly welcome, but textbooks are soon subject either to revision or to re-

placement. Keegan's cogent analysis of the stalemate will continue to be pondered, however, and his unmatched feel for landscape is unlikely to be revised into obsolescence while the terrain itself keeps its contours.

John G. Van Osdell
Towson University

George Washington: The Man behind the Myths. By William M. S. Rasmussen and Robert S. Tilton. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999. 344 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.95.)

George and Martha Washington: Portraits from the Presidential Years. By Ellen G. Miles. Preface by Edmund S. Morgan. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia in association with the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1999. 64 pages. Illustrations, notes, further reading. $17.95.)

To commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of George Washington's death, a number of institutions, led by Mount Vernon itself, have mounted exhibitions this year focusing on the Father of His Country. The Virginia Historical Society, in cooperation with Washington and Lee University and the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, has gathered a group of images and objects, some of which have never before been on display, in an exhibition entitled "George Washington: The Man behind the Myths." At the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C., Ellen G. Miles, curator of painting and sculpture, organized that museum's "George and Martha Washington: Portraits from the Presidential Years," a display of about two dozen life portraits of the president and first lady. Both institutions have produced handsomely illustrated catalogues to accompany their exhibitions.

William M. S. Rasmussen's and Robert S. Tilton's catalogue is really a full-fledged biography of Washington, separating the facts of his life from the fictions which sprang up even while Washington was still living. The authors previously collaborated on an exhibition entitled "Pocahontas: Her Life and Legend," in which they compared what was actually known about Pocahontas' life to the works of artists and writers who had altered the historical record to suit their own purposes. After the success of that show, Rasmussen and Tilton turned their attention to other famous persons whose legends had come to obscure their real lives. They agreed that of all historical figures, George Washington was someone about whom the public assumes so much but in actuality knows so little. As the title of their book makes clear—*George Washington: The Man behind the Myths*—the authors' aim is to focus on the private Washington and reintroduce the public to the man, rather than the myths surrounding him.

Early Washington biographers, including John Marshall, Mason Locke

Weems, and Jared Sparks, seemed less concerned with the actual man than with what he had come to symbolize. Their writings emphasize Washington's public actions, the story of his life becoming little more than a recounting of his extraordinary contributions to the founding of the new nation. These early biographers, unless categorizing Washington' s physical or moral attributes, barely discuss the private man. Artists, too, contributed to the mythologizing of Washington, creating apotheoses and other images which blur the distinction between the man and the emblem. Rasmussen's and Tilton's "goal in 1999, the two-hundredth anniversary year of his death, is to return the actual man to the forefront and to argue for the importance of those segments of his life that quickly faded from consideration in the years following his death"(xii).

George Washington: The Man behind the Myths is arranged chronologically. Using Washington's own writings, contemporary observations, decorative objects, and visual images, the authors reevaluate the first president's life. They emphasize the importance of Washington's early years to the development of his character. While certainly not ignoring Washington's public career, Rasmussen and Tilton are more interested in examining the general's and statesman's domestic affairs. It is their contention that the stability of his private life enabled Washington to assume his varied public roles with such success. Throughout the book, the authors analyze various nineteenth-century images, partly because these works are the only illustrations for certain aspects of his life, but more importantly, because it is through these images that the public has come to know the mythic Washington.

The first chapter deals with both the physical and social landscape of the young Washington's Virginia. Chapter 2 relates Washington's exploits as an officer in the Virginia Regiment during the French and Indian War and what that experience would mean for his future military career. The third chapter concentrates on Washington's life at Mount Vernon, his role as a Virginia gentleman and farmer and his courtship and marriage to Martha Dandridge Parke Custis. Chapter 4 covers the Revolutionary War, emphasizing Washington's continued connection to Mount Vernon and domestic affairs while commanding the American army. Chapter 5 discusses Washington's retirement to Mount Vernon after the war, his experiments in farming, his social activities, and his ideas about slavery. The sixth chapter focuses on the presidency, especially on Washington's continued interest in his estate while in office and the precedents he established as the nation's first head of state, which the authors contend he adapted from his early experiences as a member of Virginia's colonial gentry. The final chapter deals with Washington's final retirement, death, and elevation to mythic status. The authors' afterword concentrates on the tangible legacies of Washington, especially to the three institutions sponsoring the exhibition.

One of the most interesting aspects of Rasmussen and Tilton's book is their

analysis of specific images in relation to the known facts, or myths, of Washington's life. In the chapter on Washington's early years, they discuss a number of prints and paintings depicting scenes from the future president's youth. Some of these illustrations are based on totally fictitious episodes, such as Mason Locke Weems' story of the cherry tree. Weems was one of the earliest biographers of Washington, his small moralizing volume running through numerous editions. The story of the cherry tree made its first appearance in the sixth edition, published in 1808. Some of Weems' stories have a grain of truth to them, but the cherry-tree tale is pure fiction. It is a parable about truth. According to Weems, Washington's father had presented his six-year-old son with a hatchet which the boy promptly tried out on an English cherry tree. When Augustine Washington asked who had been chopping at his tree, young George confessed, crying out that he could not tell a lie.

His father rewarded the boy with a hug and praise for his honesty, thus demonstrating the value of being truthful. The most famous depiction of the fable is Grant Wood's 1939 painting of the subject, which Rasmussen and Tilton point out is in itself an examination of truth.

The most famous image of Washington is undoubtedly the so-called Athenaeum portrait by Gilbert Stuart. This is the portrait which is reproduced on the dollar bill. Prior to discussing Stuart's painting, Rasmussen and Tilton examine the presidential image Washington himself wished to project. They argue that he brought the simple dignity of the Virginia planter gentry to the office, adapting that image as necessary. If the wealthy merchants of Philadelphia had finer china than the president, then the president needed to acquire the appropriate accoutrements to distinguish himself as leader of the country. At the same time, as first citizen, Washington avoided the ostentatious display associated with European monarchy and nobility. Stuart's portraits are less actual likenesses of Washington than impressions of the gravity and dignity of the sitter.

Stuart's paintings, as well as other artists' life portraits of Washington, are examined in Ellen G. Miles' *George and Martha Washington: Portraits from the Presidential Years.* In his preface to the catalogue, historian Edmund S. Morgan describes Washington's exercise of power as president and the image he sought to project. Morgan writes that Washington "succeeded in clothing the new government with his own honor and left the presidency with a heritage of independence and respect which, despite the antics of so many of his successors, has never quite left it"(13). As Miles notes, portraits in the eighteenth century were as much about a person's character as an actual representation of the sitter's likeness. This was especially true for Washington. To understand how his contemporaries viewed him, it is necessary to look at the images in the context of descriptions of Washington from the same period.

The paintings in the exhibition range from miniatures made for family and friends to life-size, full-length state portraits. Miles first gives several contemporary accounts of George and Martha Washington. She then describes in turn portrait miniatures, state portraits, images produced by European and American artists for admirers both abroad and in the United States, paintings made for family members, and the portraits produced by Gilbert Stuart and various Peales. What stands out from seeing all these images together is the varying talents of the artists and the way they saw Washington. The importance of the artists' own vision in transferring a sitter's likeness to canvas is particularly brought out when comparing Rembrandt Peale's portrait of the president to that of his father Charles Willson Peale. Both Peales painted Washington at the same time, Rembrandt Peale sitting directly in front of the President, his father to Rembrandt's right. Other than the clothing, the likenesses are strikingly different.

Miles remarks in her conclusion that "the desire to preserve Washington' s appearance and make a visual record of his character led to a wide range of images that mainly agree on several features: oval face, bony facial structure, blue eyes, long nose, and thin lips. Beyond this, they often convey differing images of the first President" (50). It is interesting that even the written descriptions of Washington's appearance vary, and that contemporaries disagreed on which portraits were most like the original. Peale thought Stuart's portrait a beautiful work of art, but an unsatisfactory likeness. Josiah Quincy thought Edward Savage's portrait of Washington, depicting him in uniform, was most accurate, although not particularly artistic. One is left with the realization that no image completely captures the actual person, other than perhaps Jean-Antoine Houdon's plaster life mask, a photograph of which is reproduced in the catalogue but was not included in the exhibition.

Both of these exhibition catalogues—*George Washington: The Man behind the Myths* and *George and Martha Washington: Portraits from the Presidential Years*—are well written and enjoyable to read. Rasmussen and Tilton provide some interesting insights into the life of Washington, especially his attachment to his beloved Mount Vernon. Miles's use of contemporary documents complements her discussion of the roughly twenty-five images of the Washingtons painted between 1789 and 1797. Each is an important contribution to our continued attempts to understand the real, rather than the mythic, George Washington.

Jennifer Bryan
University of Maryland

Books in Brief

An amply illustrated history of the National Park Seminary Historic District is chronicled in *Enchanted Forest Glen*. Located in suburban Maryland, and bounded by Rock Creek Park and the Capital Beltway the historic site evolved from farmland to resort hotel to National Park College, a private school for women. In 1942, the campus became an official annex to the Walter Reed Army Hospital.

Save Our Seminary at Forest Glen, $35.00 paper

Guardian of the Star-Spangled Banner: Lt. Colonel George Armistead and the Fort McHenry Flag has been written by Scott Sumter Sheads, park ranger at the Fort McHenry National Historic Site. Sheads reports that no biography has been written on Lt. Colonel George Armistead, the officer who commanded Fort McHenry during the 1814 bombardment. For nearly one-hundred years after the battle, the original flag was held by the Armistead-Appleton family. In 1912, the flag was given as a gift to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

Toomey Press, $9.95 paper

Two new releases in the regional history series at Arcadia Press are Laurence G. Claggett's *Images of America: Easton* and John E. Jacob's *Wicomico County and Delmar in Vintage Postcards.* Over two hundred black-and-white photographs illustrate the history of Easton, in Talbot County, Maryland. Images of early markets, schools, churches, and businesses portray the evolution of this Eastern Shore town. Jacob's postcard history of Wicomico County is illustrated with images from historic postcards of the 1890s through the 1920s. Images include churches, camp meetings, canning factories, and a one-room schoolhouse.

Arcadia Press, each $18.99 paper

D.B.S.

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

I am writing to comment on the Editor's Notebook, "E-Commerce" in the Fall, 1999, issue.

In the late '60s, I was a young academic administrator at Johns Hopkins University and witnessed 'the revolution' taking place in colleges and universities firsthand. This revolution was characterized by the ideology of the radical left, and sadly, by an intolerance for any thought other than its own. Graduate students of that era now hold many academic posts across the country and some of this group remain committed to the radical left. In the case of history, we see this through 'agenda-driven' research and teaching, most frequently in social history, a field which has come to dominate the discipline during the last decade or so. "E-Commerce" cites a typical example of this 'new scholarship' found in social history.

In the previous edition of the MHM, R. I. Cottom's, "Revolutions, Large . . . And Small," addresses the split in the historical profession by commenting on the newly established organization, the Historical Society, which is attempting to bring some balance back to the discipline and which is rejecting the intolerance promoted by many social historians. The dominance of agenda-driven social history today, where facts and data are often 'spun' to promote a race, gender or class issue, is not only unhealthy for our young people but our society as a whole.

Indeed, what history needs today is balance—social history, of course, has a place, but so do military history, political history, diplomatic history and biography. Intolerance needs to be renounced, whether it comes from the radical left or radical right, or wherever. I urge the *Maryland Historical Magazine* to continue to promote this much-needed balance and a tolerance for different points of view. Surely we can do better than ezwrite.com.

Lawrence M. Denton
Queenstown, Maryland

Editor:

I am doing research for a personal project and am looking for information about the practice of having children's photos taken on a pony. During the early 1900's until the 1950's, a man would lead a pony, carry a camera up and down the streets, and call out to people to have their children's photos taken in their own yards. The children would be eager for a photo and the parents always seemed to agree. I am enclosing a copy of a photo taken in Baltimore before 1943.

In the larger cities, I get the impression that there may have been specific routes or a central area for the pictures. The number written on the stirrup of the saddle leads me to believe that was a way to keep the practice organized. I would appreciate it if you would print my letter in your magazine. I would like to hear from people with similar photos from any year and especially would welcome information about the people who did the actual photographs. Any background about the origin of the practice would be most helpful.

Emily Bancroft
3112 Greenwich Road Ware, MA 01082

Editor:

The cover of the Winter 1998 *Maryland Historical Magazine* featured an image of Mt. Vernon in the Snow by Gabrielle de Vaux Clements. Inside the front cover, the magazine presented a brief biographical sketch of Ms. Clements, but unfortunately failed to mention her strongest, most noteworthy Maryland connection.

Ms. Clements presented her first of 9 views of Baltimore in 1896 and the remaining 8 were published in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Bendann Art Galleries commissioned her to do these. Miss Constance Bendann, my father's first cousin (still living), recalls Ms. Clements periodically attending dinner with her (Connie's) family on Brooks Lane off Eutaw Place. Discussion of the etching project was always a topic of conversation with her father, Maurice Bendann, then the second generation owner of the gallery who had commissioned Ms. Clements. Connie also recollects climbing around, up and down the area near the North Avenue Bridge with her father and Ms. Clements in order to find the best location for that particular view. She sat on the hillside and watched Ms. Clements sketch the bridge.

The frames of the Clements etchings are quite unique and remarkable. There are 3 or 4 different styles; each of the 9 views has its own specific frame. They were fashioned by Maurice Bendann, a design expert with an equally sharp eye for marketing. Even today collectors know those frames and will not pay top dollar ($750) for an etching that has had the original frame replaced. The framed etchings originally sold for $40.

Perhaps the only fact that equals the notoriety and popularity of the Clements etching is the survival of Bendann Art Galleries. This year Bendanns is celebrating its 140th anniversary. Founded in 1859 as a portrait photography studio when James Buchanan was president, John Brown was overtaking the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry (the Civil War was still 2 years away), Oregon was admitted as the 33rd state and Charles Darwin published *The Origin of the Species,* Bendann is now in its fourth generation of family ownership and is one of Baltimore's oldest businesses — probably its oldest retail business. In fact, you

have Bendann photographs and Clements etchings with Bendann frames and labels in your collection.

The Clements etchings are indeed fine pieces and the result of a collaboration between an expert artist and draftsman and a venerable old Baltimore tradition. One reference states that the Clements Baltimore views are "the finest 20th Century etchings of any American city." To see them and enjoy them, one would be hard-pressed to refute the statement.

Lance Bendann

Notices

National History Day 2000

The theme for this year's National History Day is "Turning Points in History: People, Ideas, Events." For more information, write: National History Day, 119 Cecil Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD, 20742, or call: 301-314-9739.

Continental Harmony

A nationwide celebration of the millenium, *Continental Harmony* is a program sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts and the American Composers Forum. Fifty composers will join host organizations in each state to create new music celebrating the new millenium. The program will feature original music performances across the country, including a work composed by the Liz Lerman Dance Exchange, in Takoma Park, MD. For additional information, contact Cherie Simon, at simonc@arts.endow.gov, at the National Endowment for the Arts.

Women Historians Invite Award Nominations for Book Prizes

The Southern Association for Women Historians "is currently accepting nominations for this year's Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize and the Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize. The Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize is awarded annually for the best book published in southern women's history. The Willie Lee Rose Prize is awarded for the best book in southern history published by a woman. Books nominated for either award must possess a copyright date of 1999. Eligible books include anothologies, edited works, and all other types of historical publications. Four copies of each entry must be sent to the association no later than April 1, 2000. Send entries to SAWH c/o Michele Gillespie, Department of History, Wake Forest University, P.O. Box 7806, Winston-Salem, NC, 27109. The SAWH is also accepting submissions for its annual A. Elizabeth TaylorPrize for the best article on a topic in southern women's history published in a journal or anthology. Three copies of the article should be submitted by June 1, 2000 to Michele Gillespie, at the above address.

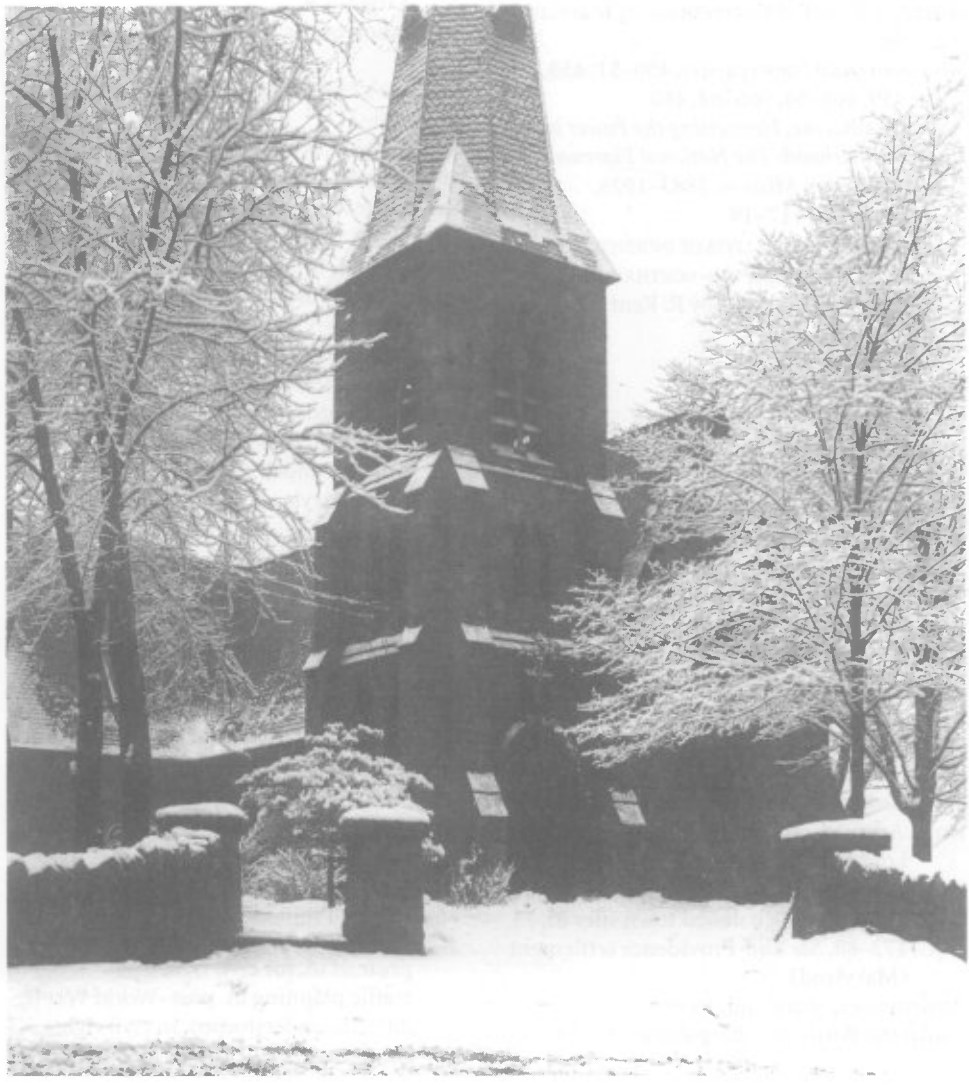
Readings at the Historical Society of Talbot County

The spring Reading and Discussion Group will meet the second Thursday of each month at the society's headquarters at 25 S. Washington Street in Easton. The next meeting, free and open to the public, is on February 10 at 7:30 p.m. Subject: Danile Blake Smith's *Inside the Great House.* Call 410-822-0773 for details.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

This snow-covered church is still standing, and serves an active congregation in central Maryland. Can you name this Episcopal house of worship and identify its location? No one correctly solved the fall puzzle. The 1920 Hughes Company photograph is of Taneytown, Carroll County.

P.D.A.



Index to Volume 94

UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE™

Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Publication Title	2. Publication No.	3. Filing Date
Maryland Historical Magazine	0 0 2 5 - 4 2 5 8	12/15/99
4. Issue Frequency	**5. No. of Issues Published Annually**	**6. Annual Subscription Price**
Quarterly	4	$40.00

7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication *(Street, City, County, State, and ZIP+4) (Not Printer)*

201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, MD, 21201

8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher *(Not Printer)*

Same

9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor *(Do Not Leave Blank)*

Publisher *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, MD 21201

Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Robert I. Cotton, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, MD. 21201

Managing Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Donna B. Shear, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, MD. 21201

10. Owner *(If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereafter the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Do Not Leave Blank.)*

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
Maryland Historical Society	201 W. Monument St., Baltimore MD 21201

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities. If none, check here. ☐ None

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address

12. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes: *(Check one)*

☐ Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months

☐ Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months *(If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement)*

PS Form **3526**, October 1994 *(See Instructions on Reverse)*

13. Publication Name	14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below	
15. Extent and Nature of Circulation	**Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months**	**Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date**
a. Total No. Copies *(Net Press Run)*	4953	5041
b. Paid and/or Requested Circulation (1) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, and Counter Sales *(Not Mailed)*	25	31
(2) Paid or Requested Mail Subscriptions *(Include Advertisers' Proof Copies/Exchange Copies)*	4480	4590
c. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation *(Sum of 15b(1) and 15b(2))*	4505	4621
d. Free Distribution by Mail *(Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free)*	92	97
e. Free Distribution Outside the Mail *(Carriers or Other Means)*	51	94
f. Total Free Distribution *(Sum of 15d and 15e)*	143	191
g. Total Distribution *(Sum of 15c and 15f)*	4648	4812
h. Copies Not Distributed (1) Office Use, Leftovers, Spoiled	300	350
(2) Return from News Agents	—	—
i. Total *(Sum of 15g, 15h(1), and 15h(2))*	300	350
Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation *(15c / 15g x 100)*	96.9	96.0

16. This Statement of Ownership will be printed in the Winter 1999 **issue of this publication.** ☐ Check box if not required to publish.

17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner — **Date**

Robert I. Cotton — 12/15/99

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions *(including fines and imprisonment)* and/or civil sanctions *(including multiple damages and civil penalties).*

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1. Complete and file one copy of this form with your postmaster on or before October 1, annually. Keep a copy of the completed form for your records.
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4. If the publication had second-class authorization as a general or requester publication, this Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation must be published; it must be printed in any issue in October or the first printed issue after October, if the publication is not published during October.
5. In item 16, indicate date of the issue in which this Statement of Ownership will be printed.
6. Item 17 must be signed.

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PS Form **3526**, October 1994 *(Reverse)*

JAMES B. McCURLEY, J.D.
ABC Genealogical Record Searching
8 Charles Plaza #2501
Baltimore, Maryland 21201
(410) 625-5076

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The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks. Guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at http:\\www.mdhs.org.

In this issue . . .

The Journal of the Maryland Historical Socie